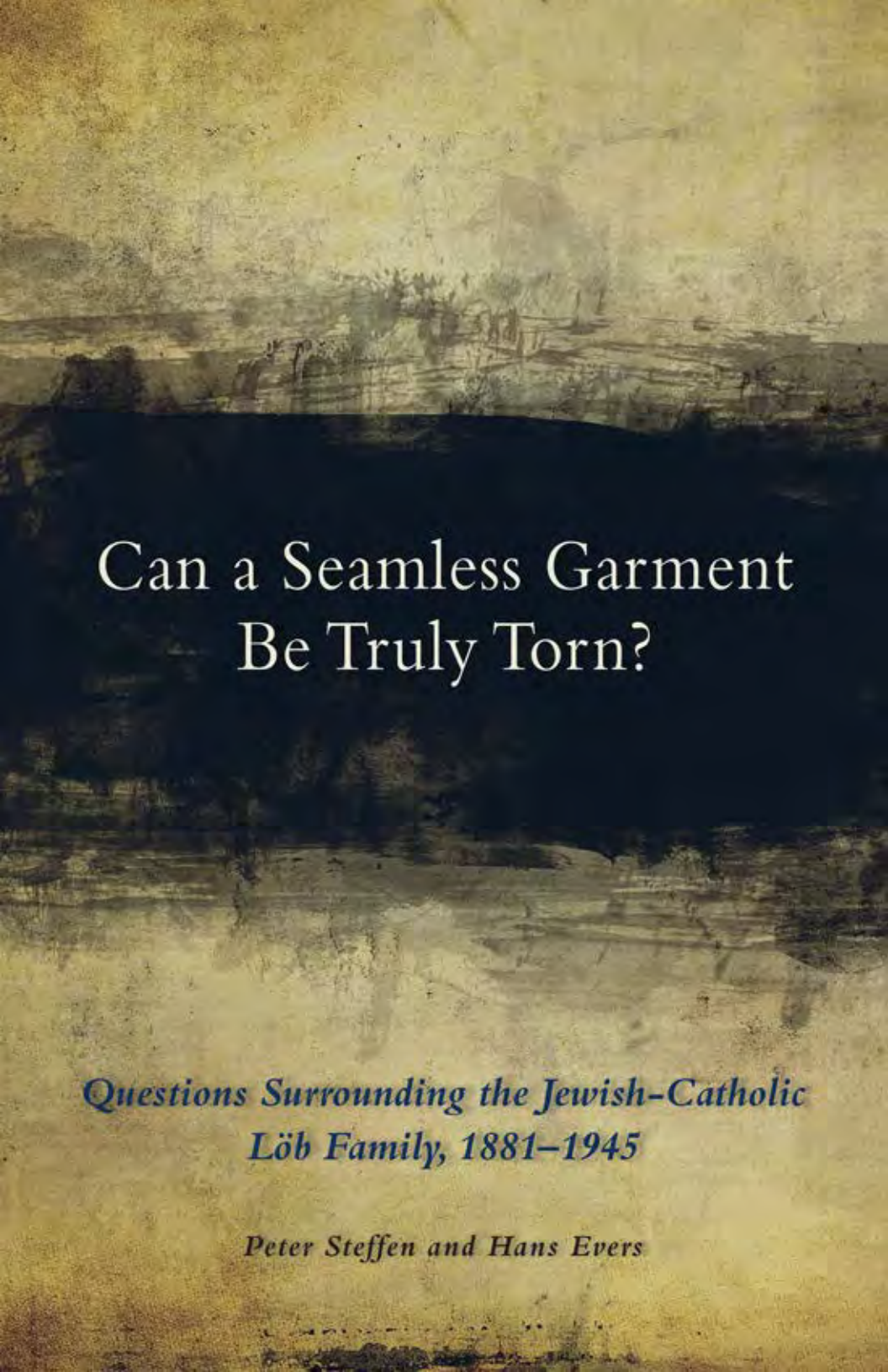
Can a Seamless Garment Be Truly Torn?
Questions Surrounding the Jewish-Catholic Löb Family, 1881–1945
Peter Steffen and Hans Evers

VISIT…

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CAN A SEAMLESS GARMENT BE TRULY TORN?

Questions Surrounding the Jewish-Catholic Löb Family, 1881–1945

Peter Steffen and Hans Evers

Translated from the Dutch by
Sr. Joanna Dunham, OCSO

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Het erge

Zie je, nu is het erge echt gebeurd;
het kan me al veel minder schelen,
ik zeg nog: liever jouw ogen een halfuur
dan duizend wonderen's eeuwige duur,
maar terwijl ik het zeg
meen ik het niet meer echt.

Nu zou ik dus moeten beginnen te rouwen
mijn kleren scheuren en schreeuwen van pijn
want dat het me minder schelen kan
is erger dan eeuwig verdriet zou zijn.

—Judith Herzberg, *Soms vaak*, Uitgeverij De Harmonie, Amsterdam 2004

The Bad Thing about It

Don't you see? Now what is bad has really happened;
it already matters much less to me,
I still say: rather your eyes for half an hour
than the eternity of a thousand wonders,
but while I'm saying it
I don't really mean it anymore.

So now I should begin to mourn,
tear my garments and scream with pain
for the fact that it can matter less to me
is worse than eternal sorrow would be.

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PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL DUTCH EDITION

A number of years ago, we, the superiors of Koningsoord and Koningshoeven, commissioned the authors of this book to write a pamphlet about the Löb brothers and sisters, our own brothers and sisters in monastic life. This was due to the continued interest being shown them by our own communities as well as by others. During the course of their research, however, it quickly became evident that a pamphlet would be insufficient to tell the story of their lives and deaths. The pamphlet became a book we are now publishing, and not without a certain sense of pride.

We are grateful to the authors for the particularly fine way in which they have placed the lives of our fellow monks and nuns within the broader context of their extended family and their historical times. The story of Lutz and Jenny Löb's conversion, and the resulting situation in which they and their children found themselves, sheds light on an entire family that fell under the spell of Trappist life. The too-long untold stories of Paula and Hans Löb, who did not become members of our monastic communities, have now been given a place as well. And by not isolating our brothers and sisters from their fellow members of the Jewish race, justice has been done to all the victims of the Jewish extermination.

In 2005, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of *Nostra Aetate* (the Vatican II document concerning relations with non-Christian religions), the Dutch bishops wrote a pastoral letter describing the characteristics of dialogue between Judaism and Christianity:

> If Jews and Christians want to converse with each other, and with others as well, concerning questions of meaning and ethics, then a dialogical attitude is absolutely essential. Such an attitude is characterized by a readiness to learn, by self-criticism, by listening, seeing, and well-considered actions. In addition, such a dialogue requires practice—we have to continue practicing.

We hope that this book, which witnesses to the above-mentioned characteristics, will contribute to this dialogue.

The lives of our fellow brothers and sisters were made exceptional by means of the tragic fate they shared with all the Jews. Unexpectedly and without being asked, they were suddenly confronted with their Jewish ancestry, which had played little or no role in their own lives up to that point, but which then became decisive for the occupying forces. Their story is also the story of so many known and unknown Jews who were victims of this incredible annihilation.

Stories are passed on, so there's a danger that they may begin to take on a life of their own: in the case of our Löb brothers and sisters, this has often done violence to the historical truth. This book will do justice to this unique story by presenting the historical facts while disempowering the false reports and hagiographic figments of imagination. The role played by our own communities in the stories of the lives of the Löb brothers and sisters will also be discussed.

If "forgetting is exile and remembrance is redemption," then we hope this book will contribute to the redemption of the story of the life of the Löb family, freeing it from the web of all the inaccurate tales that have been told over the course of many years. To the extent that we, as monastic communities, have played a role in these tales, we hope to be able to offer our apologies by means of this publication. The Löb family was and remains unique in the way in which all the members of the family, in their successes as well as in their failures, tried to live out their humanness. Their faith—Christian

for the children, both Jewish and Christian for the parents—was of crucial importance in this process.

We would like to express our appreciation to both authors, Hans Evers and Peter Steffen, who have fulfilled our request with a special sense of commitment. We would also like to thank all those who have contributed in any way to the realization of this publication.

Sister Benedict Thissen, abbess
Koningsoord Abbey

Brother Bernardus Peeters, abbot
Koningshoeven Abbey

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

Before you lies the English translation of a remarkable book. First of all it is the history of three Trappist brothers and three Trappistine sisters of Jewish background, but it also treats the broader context of their story. This English edition has been published primarily in order to make the original Dutch version available to our brothers and sisters of the Order. However, since many persons have been touched by the events of the Second World War, it will probably be of interest to readers outside the Order as well.

We are grateful for the efforts of Sister Joanna Dunham, who has translated this work with meticulous care. We also thank Sister Clare Boudreau of Our Lady of the Angels Monastery in Crozet, Virginia, who reviewed the translation.

May this book contribute to a better understanding of the history of Jewish Catholics before and during the Second World War.

Sister Benedict Thissen, abbess
Koningsoord Abbey

Brother Bernardus Peeters, abbot
Koningshoeven Abbey

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Here we would like to acknowledge our gratitude to the abbot and abbess for entrusting us with this research project, the extent of which we could not have imagined a few years ago. We also thank Paula and her family for their interest and cooperation.

This is a platitude, but it is true for both of us: this study, along with all the literature we have read in order to obtain an idea of the changing historical contexts, has been formative for us as well, not only in the process of (academic) research, but also in cultivating an interest in Jewish and Catholic history in the Netherlands during the past century, especially concerning the shocking events that occurred during the war.

We were privileged to be able to cooperate in doing this research, which we both enjoyed, and we now offer the results to a broader public.

Hans Evers and Peter Steffen
2008

ABBREVIATIONS

Akh	Archives of Koningshoeven Abbey
Ako	Archives of Koningsoord Abbey
EK	Eucharistische Kruistocht; Eucharistic Crusade
KA	Katholieke Actie; Catholic Action
Kadoc	Katholiek Documentatiecentrum België; Catholic Documentation and Research Centre, Louvain, Belgium
KDC	Katholiek Documentatie Centrum, Nijmegen; Catholic Documentation Centre, Nijmegen, The Netherlands
KJV	Katholieke Jeugd Vereniging; Catholic Youth Movement
Nespico	Nederlandsche Spitsbergen Compagnie; Dutch Spitsbergen Company
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei; National Socialist German Workers' Party
O.Cist.	Ordo Cisterciensis; Cistercian Order of the Common Observance
OCR	Ordo Cisterciensium Reformatorum; Order of Reformed Cistercians, the official name of the Trappists in the early twentieth century
OCSO	Ordo Cistercien Strictioris Observantiae; Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance, also known as Trappists and Trappistines
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum; Order of Friars Minor, or Franciscans

OFMCap	Ordo Fratrum Minorum Capucinorum; Capuchins
OMO	Ons Middelbaar Onderwijs, Onderwijsstichting Noord-Brabant; "Our Secondary Educational System," an Educational Federation in North Brabant
OP	Ordo Fratrum Predicatorum; Order of Preachers, or Dominicans
OSB	Ordo Sancti Benedicti; Order of Saint Benedict, or Benedictines
RKSP	Rooms-Katholieke StaatsPartij; Roman-Catholic State Party
SJ	Societas Jesu; Society of Jesus, or Jesuits
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands; Social Democratic Party of Germany

INTRODUCTION

In 1988, after her husband Harrie had died, Paula van Broekhoven-Löb moved from Valkenswaard to Berkel-Enschot, near the Trappistine[1] monastery of Our Lady of Koningsoord, where she had spent a few months as a novice[2] in 1937. At that time, three of her sisters had also been living in that monastery, while three of their brothers were members of the Trappist community in the nearby monastery of Our Lady of Koningshoeven. Paula then renewed her contact with the group of sisters presently living in the monastery, including a few who were her own age and who had known her

1. Trappistines: the feminine branch of the monastic order commonly known as the Trappists, who are part of the Cistercian Family of monasteries. The official name of the order in the early twentieth century was *Ordo Cisterciensium Reformatorum* (Order of Reformed Cistercians), abbreviated as OCR. The order is now officially named *Ordo Cisterciensium Strictioris Observantiae* (Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance), abbreviated as OCSO, with "strict observance" referring to a strict observance of the Rule of Saint Benedict. Another member of the Cistercian Family is *Ordo Cisterciensis*, abbreviated as O.Cist. and referred to as the "Common Observance." The Cistercians, in turn, resulted from a reform movement within the *Ordo Sancti Benedicti* (Order of Saint Benedict), abbreviated as OSB. The monastic life in community lived in all of these monasteries is based on the Rule of Saint Benedict of Nursia. An "abbey" refers to an established, self-supporting monastic community under an abbot or abbess.

2. Novice: someone who has been accepted for the official trial period which precedes making monastic vows (profession) and full reception into the monastic community.

and her birth sisters from before the war. They also knew what had happened during the war, that Paula was the only survivor in the Löb family, and that Paula's parents had been converts from Judaism; but beyond what was included in a number of hagiographically[3] tinged documents, nothing more was known, either within the monasteries or without. Paula herself, for that matter, had trouble with the distorted images of her brothers and sisters that were reflected in those hagiographic documents. Up until then, she had never said much about the family in which she had grown up, her parents' zeal for the faith, her brothers and sisters who were entering the monastery and what that meant for the atmosphere in their home, the deportation of her brothers and sisters, or her own time underground. Now—many years later—she did feel a need to tell her story, and the abbess of Koningsoord, Sr. Benedict Thissen, recognized that fact. She put Paula in contact with Peter Steffen, who gradually won her confidence, and Paula agreed to work together with him, should there ever be a serious, careful study of her family. Several paths were now beginning to converge.

The Need for a New Pamphlet

In the 1990s, Peter Steffen was approached by Abbot Korneel Vermeiren of Koningshoeven and Abbess Benedict Thissen of Koningsoord, with a request to research the possibilities of composing a new pamphlet about the monks and nuns of the Löb family who had died during World War II. In the eyes of the abbot and abbess, the existing German and Dutch texts were dated and, for that reason, no longer satisfactory. In their request, the abbot and abbess were also inspired by Trappists and Trappistines around the world, who wanted to issue a new text that could be distributed internationally.

Peter Steffen had already been involved with the monastic family of Benedictines, Cistercians, and Trappists for quite a while and was

3. Hagiography: writings about saints; an idealized portrayal of someone's life.

serving (as a layman, unaffiliated with any of the orders) as editor of the periodical *Monastieke Informatie* (Monastic Information).[4] He was given access to the archives of both monasteries, in order to ascertain what kind of primary sources were available regarding the monks and nuns of the Löb family. While making an initial inventory, it soon became clear that it would take just as much work to study the sources and make a selection of the material to be used for a pamphlet as it would to do an in-depth study for a broader-based publication.

During this phase, Peter Steffen approached Hans Evers, initially asking him to write a text based on documentation Steffen would provide. Discussions concerning the available source material led to the realization that the perspective of the research really needed to be broadened in order to place the events in the lives of the Löb monks and nuns within the larger context of their extended family and Jewish ancestry, the atmosphere created by their parents, whose lives were marked by conversion and zeal for the faith, their own monastic life, and the circumstances during the war. Therefore the scope of the research was extended to embrace a longer period of time and more persons: the story of their ancestry would reach back into the nineteenth century, to the Eifel area of Germany, as well as the Netherlands. The actual story would include all the members of the Löb family: the parents, Lutz and Jenny, along with all eight of their children, and possibly their foster child, Marietje Netten, as well. This broader perspective was discussed with the abbot and abbess, which led to an ample research prospectus within which the desired broader approach was honored.

A Twofold Mandate from the Monasteries

First of all, the researchers were asked to inventory all possible original source material and to study it. Based on this study, a

4. In 2008, *Monastieke Informatie* was reorganized and is now published in another format under the title: *De Kovel. Monastiek tijdschrift voor Vlaanderen en Nederland* [The Cowl: Monastic Periodical for Flanders and the Netherlands].

historically responsible and verifiable account of the Löb family was to be written, with their Jewish ancestry being one of the thematic lines.

Second, critical research was to be done regarding the impressions that had been formed of this family, especially those members of the family who had entered the monasteries. An analysis of this story tradition and the commemorative culture would then be confronted with the images revealed during the study of the primary sources, which in turn would indicate a direction for the continuing tradition of remembering and commemorating. Central to this process was the conviction that it should no longer be a matter of hagiography.

Written Sources and Oral History

Research in the archives of both monasteries was the starting point, but it quickly became clear that information would also have to be sought outside the monasteries. Many persons were approached with requests for help and information. Even though the Loeb family[5] was a bit skeptical about what the two monasteries were undertaking—after all, the monasteries had done very little to protect the members of their family who had been deported—they did provide access to many documents and a great deal of information.

An important source of information about members of the Löb family was Paula van Broekhoven-Löb, who could tell quite detailed stories about events that had occurred during her youth. Many of her stories were pearls of oral history. She also provided us with directions about where to look for further information concerning certain persons and events. Most of the time we were able to find written sources that could be used either to verify her stories, to elaborate on them, or sometimes even to refute them. In a limited number of cases, though, we had to rely on her memories alone, since there were no written sources; nor were there any other per-

5. "The Loeb family" refers to Lutz Löb's Jewish relatives. Lutz himself used the old German spelling of his family name.

sons whom we could consult who had experienced these events so intimately.

We had many conversations with Paula, usually in her apartment, with either coffee or Trappist beer (in its own bowl-shaped glass) and nuts, with separate little saucers for each of us because, as Paula would say, that was "comme il faut" (French for "good and proper"), poking a bit of fun at herself while also referring to her education at the boarding school run by the Ladies of Mary in Aalst—that is where she had the rules of etiquette imprinted on her. A personal bond grew up among us that enabled a great deal of openness but that at the same time led to the authors' sometimes allowing themselves to be led (too much so) by Paula's own personal experiences and memories. For example, for quite a while, Paula's admiration for her father and her difficult relationship with her mother were determinative for the way in which the authors viewed the respective roles of the parents in raising their children; later, however, the authors were able to perceive the one-sidedness of this portrayal. Nonetheless, Paula was the preeminent oral informant for certain aspects of their family life. Of even greater importance, though, than her actual contributions while collecting information about the Löb family, was her stimulating cooperation with a view to publication.

Even though it was naturally "her story," Paula didn't want to be the main character of the book, because it was all about her family, her parents, her deceased brothers and sisters. As was the case with so many who had survived the war, Paula was ignored during the commemorative services and in the written texts—it was only natural that she not be included in the memorial card for the members of the Löb family, since she had survived. As survivor, however, Paula did have to bear the enormous sorrow and sense of loss that accompanied being left behind, alone. Little attention was given to this aspect, though; most of the attention was directed toward her deceased brothers and sisters. Her interest in the research project and in the researchers themselves was heartwarming, and we believe the attention her own experiences then received was really good

for her. The old bonds with the Trappistines were renewed, and it was only right that her funeral Mass on February 10, 2004, be held in the monastic church of Koningsoord Abbey. After her cremation, the urn containing her ashes was placed in the grave of her sister, Sr. Veronica. She was "home" again.

In 1925, Deetje (Marietje Netten) was taken in by the Löb family as a newborn child. She could have been another important source of oral history; however, after Jenny died in 1938, she gradually fell out of the picture, and after the war she had very little contact with Paula or any other members of the family. In the framework of this research project, Peter Steffen did have one conversation with her in 1998, but by then she either could or wished to remember very little of the period 1925–1938, which she had spent with the Löb family. She died on November 3, 2006.

There were also conversations with other persons in the context of this research, and these conversations regularly led to the discovery of further documentation that could be used to verify information that had been acquired orally. A list of the persons with whom we spoke and/or with whom we corresponded is included in the bibliography of primary sources and literature at the end of this book.

The Conversion Story

The conversion of Lutz Löb and Jenny van Gelder from Judaism to the Catholic faith brought about a crucial change of course in the story of the Loeb clan and the Löb family. Lutz and Jenny were baptized in 1907, which would place them within the range of Paul Luykx's study of Catholic converts in the Netherlands during the period 1880–1960.[6] Luykx emphasizes the influence of social developments on the conversion of prominent personages in the scientific

6. P. Luykx, *Daar is nog poëzie, nog kleur, nog warmte. Katholieke bekeerlingen en moderniteit in Nederland 1880–1960* [There is still poetry, color, warmth: Catholic converts and modernity in the Netherlands 1880–1960] (Hilversum, 2007).

and cultural community, offering a sociological classification of the various types of converts based on externally perceptible motives. He looks, as it were, from the outside to the inside, and then describes a cultural elite. We place more emphasis on the personal, interior, spiritual journey of Lutz and Jenny, which led to their conversion and continued to influence their lives, being of decisive significance for the choices which were determinative for the lives of their children. Lutz and Jenny didn't belong to the cultural elite of their day, even though they did have contact with several well-known personages, such as Frederik van Eeden, Pieter van der Meer de Walcheren, Herman de Man, and Anton van Duinkerken.

The Story of a Family

A number of studies and historical novels use the story of a family or clan as a basis for sketching a broader characterization of an era: the "little history" of a few persons is placed within a broader context, or more general social trends are illustrated by their particular manifestations within a story covering several generations. P. W. Klein wrote a two-volume work about the Roet family and his own family, approaching history as an interaction between structural changes and personal acts, and revealing how the dramatic events of the twentieth century played differing roles in the lives of two Jewish families.[7] *Buddenbrooks* by Thomas Mann and, more recently, *Het lot van de familie Meijer* (The fate of the Meijer family) by Charles Lewinsky (originally published in 2006) are exponents of the literary genre "family history."[8] More closely related to our study is the

7. P. W. Klein, *Kaddisj voor Isaäc Roet (1891–1944). Twee familiegeschiedenissen uit de twintigste eeuw* [Kaddish for Isaac Roet (1891–1944): The stories of two twentieth-century families] (Amsterdam/Antwerp, 2001). "Kaddish" refers here to the commemorative prayer recited when a parent or close relative dies.

8. The parallels between the five successive (fictional) generations of the Jewish Meijer family and those of the (historical) Leib/Loeb family during the same period (1870–1945) are worthy of note. We'll just mention the

book *Die Ehrlichs. Die Geschichte einer jüdischen Familie* [The Ehrlichs: The Story of a Jewish Family], by Simson Kreutner (Leipzig, 1996). In the Netherlands, the first volume of the two-part series written by Evelien Gans, entitled *Jaap en Ischa Meijer. Een joodse geschiedenis 1912–1956* [Jaap and Ischa Meijer: A Jewish History, 1912–1956] (Amsterdam, 2007), offers a fascinating story based on the lives of father and son Meijer, revealing the shocking events and mental changes which were taking place among Dutch Jews during the twentieth century. In contrast to these studies, however, we are actually presenting the story of a family against the background of the Jewish *Großfamilie* (extended family) as well as that of the flourishing Roman Catholic life of the zealous faithful during the interwar period in the Netherlands. The family life of Lutz and Jenny Löb took place between the two poles of Judaism and Catholicism, including the sometimes tension-filled relations between these two religions.

Precisely here, at this point of tension, the encyclopedic study by Marcel Poorthuis and Theo Salemink proved to be significant for us: *Een donkere spiegel. Nederlandse katholieken over joden, 1870–2005. Tussen antisemitisme en erkenning* [A Dark Mirror: Dutch Catholics about Jews, 1870–2005. Between Anti-Semitism and Acknowledgment] (Nijmegen, 2006).

One of the main characters in the biography of this family is Lutz Löb, who was born in 1881. We are taking that year as the starting point for our story, with the understanding that we will also give an abbreviated account of his family of origin, going back to the Napoleonic age. His wife, Jenny van Gelder, born in 1879, is also a main character, and we will trace the lines of her descent as well, as far as the sources allow. We have chosen to end the story of this family with 1945, the year of liberation for the Netherlands, when the war was over. In a separate chapter, we will then treat the

---

economic transition from traveling cattle merchant to the establishment of a clothing store to expansion into a large department store. The conversion motif is also encountered, along with the split it causes, in the Meijer family.

traditions of remembering and commemorating as practiced after the war, especially within and originating from the monasteries of Koningshoeven and Koningsoord.

The Structure of This Book

Each chapter begins with a citation from a significant situation or event, placing us immediately within the lived experience of that period. In the final chapter, this citation is replaced by a photo, since in that chapter the images and impressions which were being formed hold a central place.

We chose a predominantly chronological arrangement; however, in chapter 4 we combine this with a thematic perspective, enabling us to describe what happened to the various members of the family during the period 1922–1938, when the children were beginning to move away from their parents' home and were growing up, each in his or her own way. The bonds with the extended family are in the background, with the immediate Löb family being in the foreground: sometimes it becomes quite clear how far removed this family was from the Jewish familial bonds, with the connections being quite thin.

In the first chapter, the emphasis is totally on their Jewish ancestry. After that, we consider the process of conversion of Lutz and Jenny, with their baptism and marriage being a provisional pinnacle. In the third chapter, the Löb family finds itself outside the field of vision and the social control of the extended family, which at that point still doesn't know that Lutz and Jenny have converted to the Catholic faith. It is during this period that the family grows to include eight children, enjoying a certain material prosperity; however, a financially irresponsible undertaking reduces the family's wealth to a sober style of life with long-term, oppressive debts. The fourth chapter is complex, due to the fact that many varied and divergent events occurred during the period 1922–1938, with the lives of the various members of the family increasingly taking place in separate locations.

The dominant element in this period is the very strong bond which was formed between the family and the contemplative[9] monastic life of the Trappists and Trappistines. The fact that almost all their children entered the monastery confirmed Lutz and Jenny in their own faith choice and in the choices they had made for their children's futures. Chapter 5 treats the war period: Lutz and Jenny had already died when the persecution of the Jews and the occupation of the Netherlands cruelly infringed upon the lives of their children. Their Jewish ancestry was the reason for their persecution, and this formed a bond between them and their Jewish relatives in the Loeb and Van Gelder families—the group of survivors was small. In the last chapter, we give a survey of the impressions created by the memorial services and other literature after the war, adding critical, marginal comments and pointing out the distortions introduced in function of propaganda for the faith. In so doing, we satisfy the second part of the mandate given us by the abbot and abbess. We hope that the story of the Löb family in the first five chapters of this book presents a historically responsible portrait, which would then allow us to consider the first part of their mandate as also being fulfilled.

Torn Garments

"And Jacob tore his garments, wrapped sackcloth around his loins, and mourned his son for many days" (Genesis 37:34). Jews trace the tradition (called *keriah* קריעה) of tearing one's garments as a sign of mourning back to this action. When one's father or mother dies, the tear is made on the left side, over one's heart, in the outer garments which one usually wears. When one's spouse, child, brother, or sister dies, the tear is made on the right side.[10]

9. Contemplative life: a form of monastic life emphasizing reflection and contemplation of God in a common life of prayer and study.

10. S. de Vries, *Joodse riten en symbolen* [Jewish Rites and Symbols] (Amsterdam, 1968), 272–73.

The (secret) conversion of Lutz Löb and Jenny van Gelder, as well as their tendency to witness to their faith, led to a tear in the fabric of the family. The harmony was disturbed. Lutz's brother, Ernst, even compared their parents' sadness at this separation with their sorrow over the early death of their son Frits. Later, it was primarily Lutz and Jenny themselves who perpetuated the disturbed relationships. The tensions between Judaism and Catholicism played a very unique role in the life of the Löb family.

Many members of the Loeb and Van Gelder families were victims of the Jewish persecution during World War II, just as the children of the Löb family were. Most of them died, and the little group that survived was plunged into sorrow. There was good reason to tear one's garments. Paula was certainly not the only one who was interiorly torn by the devastating events.[11]

After the war, a tradition of remembering and commemorating the monks and nuns who had died quickly grew up in the monasteries. There was a tendency to embellish the stories and to smooth out any wrinkles. The images and impressions of the Löb family that were formed at that time could be metaphorically termed a woven garment: in this book, we reveal the lines and patterns of that weaving, but by confronting the tradition with actual facts, the tears in the garment come to the fore. Everything was not really as pretty and ideal as the tradition might suggest.

The Realization of This Book

The initial allocation of tasks between the writers was rather quickly adapted. The actual research—such as visiting the archives, holding interviews, and studying the sources and the literature—was done by both authors, but with each giving special attention to his

11. Cf. *"Der Riß durch mein Leben." Die Erinnerungen von Ursula Bernhardt*, Aufgeschrieben und herausgegeben von Peter Lange [The tear through my life: the memories of Ursula Bernhardt, as told to Peter Lange] (Berlin, 2000).

own particular topics within the various periods and sections. Hans Evers composed the working papers and actually wrote the story, while being able, time and time again, to fall back on Peter Steffen's precise and clearly structured documentation. Both of them assume responsibility for the final version of the text and footnotes. Peter Steffen put together a collection of photos, and both authors selected those which would be included in the present volume.

During the initial research phase, those who had requested the study were regularly consulted, with Paula van Broekhoven also being present on many occasions. During the next phase, Professor Dr. J. Jacobs, a church historian at Tilburg University, was also consulted, not only to provide guidance based on his knowledge of historical research in the field of religious events, but also because of the interest shown by the theological faculty of Tilburg University in this particularly "Brabant" history. He worked conscientiously with us to prepare this book for publication, offering an eye for consistency in presentation as well as editorial comments which could improve readability.

1

THE STORY OF TWO FAMILIES: LOEB AND VAN GELDER

1783–1897

My parents were quite liberal, not really at first, but little by little it just happened. I know from the stories my mother told me that her table service for milk and her table service for meat got all mixed up when they were moving into the city and, according to Jewish Law, they were no longer usable. But she just couldn't bring herself to destroy all her precious glassware and table service and buy new dishes.

I was born into a Jewish family which practiced no religion, so I grew up free of all the cares and obligations which enrich the life of a child who is raised with God and with religion. I grew up in a large family, my parents were well-off, and our life was pleasant and carefree.

These two quotations give us a glimpse of Jewish culture in the Netherlands during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The first is from an article in which Lutz Löb recounts his conversion from Judaism to Catholicism. It was published under the name "Juda" in the Catholic periodical *De Beiaard* [The Carillon] in 1925, with the title *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew].[1] Lutz's parents came from a traditional Jewish milieu

1. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], *De Beiaard* [The Carillon] 10, no. 1 (1925): 25–40.

in the German countryside, but they had gradually become more and more liberal in the practice of their faith. An important step in this liberalization process occurred when the family moved into the city, where Lutz grew up. Lutz's parents were rather well-off—they had precious glassware and table service which enabled them to satisfy the Jewish dietary laws for preparing and serving meals. It seems that they still followed those prescriptions before they moved, but once they were settled in the Netherlands, Lutz's mother decided not to worry about the ritual prescriptions anymore, as a matter of frugality. Lutz doesn't mention how his father felt about this.

This chapter provides answers to questions about Lutz's origins. We will look at the liberalization of the Jewish way of life, as well as at the social emancipation and related socio-economic developments which occurred within certain Jewish communities in the course of succeeding generations. That will give us an idea of the social milieu in which Lutz Löb grew up, how he learned to view life, and the social opportunities available to him.

The second quotation is taken from the manuscript *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [My Journey to Christ], written around 1935, in which Jenny van Gelder relates a bit of the story of her own conversion.[2] This text was intended to be a conference for converts who met now and then in Oosterhout, a village in North Brabant which was home to two Benedictine monastic communities, one of monks and one of nuns. For several years, Jenny helped these converts with their spiritual formation.

From this quotation, one could conclude that Jenny had no religious instruction as a child, an experience which she later viewed as a certain spiritual poverty—but she did experience her youth as carefree and prosperous. In this first chapter we will also present a

2. Akh, F Löb 2 (see List of Abbreviations). Jenny Löb-van Gelder, *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [My Journey to Christ]. Manuscript. Typed version by Fr. Anselmus Terstegge, OCSO. The original handwritten version has not been found.

brief sketch of Jenny van Gelder's family of origin, which will give the chapter the character of a diptych.

1. The Leib/Loeb family

1.1 Moises Leib

The oldest known forefather of Ludwig, or Lutz, Löb is Moises Leib, born in 1783 in the village of Hain bij Niederzissen, west of Andernach, on the eastern edge of the Eifel region in Germany.[3] We do not know who Moises's parents were.[4] Jews had been living in the area along the Rhine for centuries.[5] Moises Leib was born just before the French Revolution, which propagated equal rights for every citizen, regardless of his or her religious affiliation.

3. Gemeente Bad Münstereifel, Archief Burgerlijke Stand, Overlijdensregister 1860 [The Registry of Deaths for 1860 in the civil service archives of the municipality of Bad Münstereifel] gives *Hohn Regierungsbezirk Coblenz* as the birthplace of Moises Leib. The present-day village of Hohn belongs to the municipality of Nettersheim, near Bad Münstereifel, but inquiries revealed that this couldn't have been the birthplace of Moises Leib, and there is no village named "Hohn" in the area surrounding Koblenz. In the eighteenth century, the spelling and the pronunciation of the names of various places were different from what they are today. The most probable place of birth is the village of Hain, given the fact that Moises Leib lived in Niederzissen. We are indebted to Ms. Marianne Gädtke of Bad Münstereifel for this information.

4. *Sohn von einem den Deklaranten unbekannten Vater und von einer denselben unbekannten Mutter.* Gemeente Bad Münstereifel, Archief Burgerlijke Stand, Overlijdensregister 1860, nr. 57. [*Son of a father, unknown to the declarant, and of a mother, also unknown to the same declarant*. Civil Service Archives of the municipality of Bad Münstereifel, Registry of Deaths for 1860, no. 57.]

5. Cf. E. Pracht, *Jüdisches Kulturerbe im Nordrhein-Westfalen. I. Regierungsbezirk Köln*, Köln, 1997; H.-D. Arntz, *Judaica. Juden in der Voreifel*, Euskirchen, 1983; Kl. H. Schulte, *Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Juden am linken Niederrhein seit dem 17. Jahrhundert*, Düsseldorf, 1972; Nachum T. Gidal, *De joden in Duitsland van de Romeinse tijd tot de Weimar Republiek*, Cologne, 1998; L. Trepp, *Die Juden. Volk, Geschichte, Religion*, Rheinbek bei Hamburg, 1998.

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Throughout the previous centuries, Jews had occupied a rather exceptional position with respect to the surrounding Christian society. This was true not only in the Rhineland but also in other parts of Europe. Their minority position usually resulted in an absence of basic human rights, a lack of safety, a certain isolation since they were restricted to their own group, and a dependence on the arbitrary discretion of rulers. Only a few were able to attain to a position of respect by means of education or wealth. Jews were excluded from the practice of trades that were under the authority of the guilds; neither were they permitted to own houses or land. Their presence was at best tolerated, and they were often taxed for this privilege. During times of economic decline, the pressure on Jews tended to increase, usually leading to their being driven out of cities and other areas where they had settled. The strengthening of a centralized political authority provided a relatively secure legal status, even though it by no means implied an equal position within the society. The Enlightenment set the tone for the education of good, conscientious, obedient citizens: it was contrary to good reason to maintain the opinion that Jews were humanly inferior to other residents; separation and exclusion had to give way to integration and adaptation; and national authorities enacted specific laws in order to realize this. Politically, the French Revolution marked a decisive turn in the direction of integration and equal rights for Jews.

In 1791, equal rights were proclaimed for all citizens in France. Several years later, French troops conquered the territory on the left bank of the Rhine, annexing this region to the French state and extending the declaration of equal rights to Jews in the area as well. But this didn't mean that their fellow citizens suddenly viewed Jews any differently: old relationships, prejudices, and ways of viewing reality continued to hold sway for quite a long time—after all, Jews had the reputation of being shifty traders and money-grubbers. Christian accusations of Jewish deicide (the belief that Jews were responsible for the death of Jesus the Messiah) and of their desecrating the Eucharist in a strange blood ritual did not come to an

end either. Even though political equality was the first step toward further emancipation, assimilation, and integration, the fluctuating political affairs of the nineteenth century eventually brought the emancipation process to a standstill. Even among Jews themselves, resistance movements grew up which worked against assimilation and integration.

These radical social changes characterized Moises Leib's youth. Initially, many residents of the Rhineland regarded the arrival of the French troops as an emancipation,[6] but after a while the economic situation became so bad that no one really expected much of anything from the French. Napoleon, like the Prussian kings before him, tried to regulate the Jewish communities and give them a place in society: religious practice was viewed as a private matter, so it was forced out of public life.

In 1808, Niederzissen belonged to the municipality of Wehr. That year a law was enforced requiring each person to be registered with a fixed family name in the Civil Service Registers. It is true that older names often remained in use for quite a while, but, from that date on, official documents were issued with the official registered name. Many persons chose a new name, often with a French spelling, or had such a name assigned to them by the registrars. In the list compiled at the Town Hall in Wehr, November 14–17, 1808, the names under which Jewish residents were registered include Claire Gran, Eva Haupt, Auguste Sommer, and Othon Sommer. These names were used instead of Gendel Leib, widow of Moises André; Haffel Hirsch, widow of a Moises Leib (not our Moises Leib); and Isac and Leib Abraham.[7]

This too was the occasion on which the family name "Leib" was officially recorded in the Civil Service Registers. The name "Leib"

6. K. J. Hoffmann, *Drei rheinische Dörfer und ihre Geschichte* (Euskirchen, 1998), 142–48.

7. U. Bürger, ed., *Niederzissen. Gemeinde-Chronik* (Niederzissen: Geschichtliches der Brohltal-Gemeinde in Wort und Bild, 1992), 496–530, here 499–500.

is probably derived from "Lev" or "Levi,"[8] which became "Leib" in the German dialect spoken in the Rhineland, that being a spelling of a pronunciation which was also quite similar to "Loeb" or "Löb." In 1822, Moises signed the birth certificate of his son Salomon as "Leib Mzodid,"[9] using Hebrew characters. Apparently he couldn't write in German at that time.

In 1808, a decree was also promulgated by the French government making the practice of a profession dependant on the allocation of patents issued by the state: naturally, one had to pay for these patents. Freedom of trade was restricted, and the freedom to choose one's place of residence was once again curtailed for Jews. In addition, a regional organization of Jewish communities was established in conformity with the state's departmental classification system.

Moises Leib lived through the fall of the Napoleonic Empire, with all the consequences that entailed. In 1815, the territory on the left

8. L. Zunz, *Namen der Juden. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig, 1837, reprinted Hildesheim, 1971); D. Bering, *Der Name als Stigma. Antisemitismus im deutschen Alltag 1812–1933* (Stuttgart, 1987); "Die Familiennamen der Juden in Deutschland," *Stammbaum* 6, no. 7 (December 1995). See also the story about obligatory family names in Giorgio van Straten's novel, *Hartogs keuze* (Amsterdam, 2001). There is a Jewish joke about such a compulsory change of name: when a man was required to present himself for the assignment of a new name, his wife insisted that he take all the table silver with him so that he would be able to pay for a nice, appropriate family name. When he returned quite late that evening, his wife asked him what their name had become. The man replied that, from now on, they would be called "Schweissloch" [which is German for "pore," or literally "sweat hole"]. Did that take all day? And what had he done with all the silver? He replied that he had to go to a great deal of trouble to get the one letter "w," and that he had to use all the silver to pay for it; otherwise they would have been called "Scheissloch" ["shit hole"].

9. Archiv Standesamt Niederzissen, Gemeinde Brohltal, Geburtenbuch / Geburtsregister 1822, nr. 2. [Brohltal, Niederzissen, Municipal Archives (Germany), Registry of Births 1822, no. 2.] Mr. H. Boertjens of Zwolle tried to decipher Moises Leib's signature for us. His given name seemed to be particularly difficult to read.

bank of the Rhine was awarded to the Kingdom of Prussia. Some of the French legislation was repealed, and the earlier stipulations regarding limited rights for Jews were once again enforced. However, the Eifel region was located far away from the center of the Prussian state, which meant that many official decrees were not implemented as quickly or as strictly in that area.

Moises married Jeanetta (Schanetta) Kaufmann around 1810. Jeanetta was born in Nickenich in the district of Koblenz around 1786. Her father was Salomon Kaufmann,[10] a merchant. Five children were born to Moises and Jeanetta: Abraham, born around 1815;[11] Frederike (Fanni), whose date of birth is unknown;[12] Salomon, who

10. Archiv Standesamt Niederzissen, Verbandsgemeinde Brohltal, Sterbe-Urkunde Jeanetta Kaufmann, 1848, nr. 165. [Brohltal, Niederzissen, Municipal Archives (Germany), death certificate Jeanetta Kaufmann, 1848, no. 165.] This legal document states that those who reported this death, namely, her husband, Moises Leib, and her son Abraham, did not know the name of Jeanetta's mother.

11. This is taken from Jeanetta Kaufmann's death certificate.

12. The unmarried Miss Fanni Leib died on February 28, 1893, in Münstereifel, a small town south of Euskirchen in the northwest section of the Eifel region. Her headstone says that she was 84 years old (M. Gädtke, *Jüdische Friedhöfe im Stadtgebiet von Bad Münstereifel. Bestandsaufnahme und Dokumentation aufgenommen im Jahre 2000*, Bad Münstereifel, 2000, Grabmal Nr. 49; Gemeente Bad Münstereifel, Archief burgerlijke stand, *Sterberegister* 1893, nr. 11) [Bad Münstereifel, Municipal Archives (Germany), death certificate 1893, no. 11]. That means that she would have had to have been born in 1808 or 1809. According to the registry of deaths, she was born in Niederzissen as the daughter of Moises Leib and Jeanetta Kaufmann. We suspect that a mistake has crept in somewhere regarding Fanni's age. (According to M. Gädtke, mistakes were made during the restoration of a number of inscriptions on headstones. It is not possible to double-check this by consulting Niederzissen's registry of births since these do not go back any further than 1821.) If Fanni really was born in 1809, then she would not have still been enrolled in the elementary school in Niederzissen in 1827, and Salomon must have had two other older brothers or sisters, one of whom must have been the already mentioned

came into the world on January 6, 1822; Johanna, who was born early in January 1825;[13] and finally Maria Anna, who saw the light of day on July 11, 1826. When Salomon was born, Moises Leib was a wine merchant living in Niederzissen, but it is not clear whether he remained a wine merchant his entire life. In the legal document composed at the time of the birth of his daughter Johanna, Moises was referred to as "*Handelsjud*" [Jewish merchant]. His business affairs probably included other products as well by that time.

A small Jewish community, numbering thirty Jewish families in 1856, lived in and around Niederzissen. In 1822 they were presumably fewer in number. Nonetheless, this small community had its own synagogue, a bath house, and a cemetery, so it must have been relatively well off.[14]

From the list of students attending the elementary school in Niederzissen in 1827, it looks as if three children from the family of Moises Leib and Jeanetta Kaufmann were enrolled there at the time.[15] These three must have been Abraham, Fanni, and Salomon, since Johanna and Maria Anna would have still been too young to go to school. Maria Anna Leib, who was also known as Rachel, married the wealthy merchant Samuel Levy in Münstereifel when she was still quite young.[16] She was his second wife. Samuel Levy was born

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Abraham. Fanni's death in 1893 was reported by Jakob Mehrgut, the Jewish religion teacher in Münstereifel. She had never married and was living with this religion teacher at the time. She had probably gone to Münstereifel much earlier, long before Jakob Mehrgut was appointed to teach religion there.

13. Archiv Standesamt Niederzissen, *Geburtenbuch* 1825, nr. 2. [Brohltal, Niederzissen, Municipal Archives (Germany), Registry of Births, 1825, no. 2.]

14. Cf. Bürger, *Niederzissen Gemeinde-Chronik*.

15. Bürger, *Niederzissen. Gemeinde-Chronik*, 527; W. Kolvenbach, *Geschichte der Juden in Münstereifel* (Hausarbeit zur Ersten Lehrerprüfung, manuscript), Hohn/Eifel 1962, speciaal paragraaf III.4 Das jüdische Schulwesen.

16. Schulte, *Dokumentation*, 160; Kolvenbach, *Geschichte der Juden*, 46. Gemeente Bad Münstereifel, Archief Burgerlijke stand: Heiratsbuch 1847 [Bad Münstereifel, Municipal Archives (Germany), Registry of Marriages 1847].

around 1788 and had been previously married to Christina Wolff. He had three daughters from his first marriage: Marianne, Mathilde, and Rosina. In 1846, Christina Wolff died. Not long afterwards, Samuel Levy married Rachel Leib, who was thirty-eight years his junior. Samuel Levy was a prosperous merchant who held executive positions in the local and regional Jewish community: in 1857, he was the first Jew to be elected to the Münstereifel Town Council, an indication of the extent to which the Jewish community of that time was interwoven with other residents of the town. Samuel Levy died in 1860, a well-respected man.[17] Rachel survived him by quite a number of years and was later buried in Münstereifel, just as her husband had been. Presumably Moises Leib, in Niederzissen, had had business contacts with Samuel Levy in Münstereifel before his daughter married him. Moises's son Salomon was later employed by Samuel Levy as well, a sign that there were close bonds between the two families.

Jeanetta Kaufmann died in Niederzissen on August 31, 1848. Her son Abraham, who signed the death certificate as "Abraham Löb," was employed in Niederzissen as a *Küfer* [cooper]. The death certificate noted that Moises Leib was then sixty-three years old.[18] Moises himself probably did not know exactly how old he was. When he was visiting in Münstereifel and died there on November 28, 1860, his age was recorded as being seventy-seven years.[19] His son Salomon,

17. Schulte, *Dokumentation*, 160; Kolvenbach, *Geschichte der Juden,* 46. Gemeente Bad Münstereifel. Archief Burgerlijke stand. Sterbe-Urkunde 1860, nr. 42 [Bad Münstereifel, Municipal Archives (Germany), Registry of Deaths 1860, no. 42].

18. Archiv Standesamt Niederzissen, Brohltal, Sterbe-Urkunde Jeanetta Kaufmann, 31 August 1848, nr. 165 [Brohltal, Niederzissen, Municipal Archives (Germany), death certificate for Jeanetta Kaufmann, August 31, 1848, no. 165].

19. Gemeente Bad Münstereifel, Archief burgerlijke stand: Sterberegister 1860, nr. 57 [Bad Münstereifel, Municipal Archives (Germany), Registry of Deaths 1860, no. 57].

who was living in Münstereifel, was the one who reported his father's death, and in the death certificate, he stated that he didn't know the names of Moises Leib's parents.

1.2 Salomon Leib/Loeb

It has already been stated that Moises's second son, Salomon, born in 1822, was employed by his brother-in-law, Samuel Levy. In 1852, Salomon married Marianne Levy, one of Samuel's daughters by his first wife, Christina Wolff. So Samuel Levy was then simultaneously Salomon Leib's boss, his brother-in-law, and his father-in-law, giving Salomon access to influential contacts. It can be presumed that Marianne brought a large dowry to her marriage. The married couple remained in Münstereifel, where Salomon worked as an independent cattle merchant. He would go from farm to farm, buying cattle and then reselling the animals at the cattle markets, which were regularly held in Münstereifel.

Münstereifel was a fortified town, founded in the ninth century by the Benedictine Abbey of Prüm.[20] In the Middle Ages, it developed into a governmental and trade center with a prosperous merchants' class, which left its mark on the town until well into the seventeenth century, as is witnessed by the beautiful, half-timbered houses. There is mention of a decline during the eighteenth century, partly due to the fact that those working in tanneries and with textiles held onto outdated methods for too long. When the French took over, Münstereifel lost its significance as a governmental center, and during the nineteenth century, it was economically overshadowed by Euskirchen to the north, which had railway connections. It would

20. Eifelverein Ortsgruppe Bad Münstereifel 1890 e.V. (Hrsgb), *Bad Münstereifel*. Schriftenreihe Die Schöne Eifel, Bad Münstereifel, 1984; T. Hürten, *Chronik Münstereifels in Daten. I-II. Stichwortverzeichnis* zusammengestellt von M. Gädtke, Bad Münstereifel, 1998; Kolvenbach, *Geschichte der Juden*; Schulte, *Dokumentation*.

be 1890 before one could reach Münstereifel with a sideline train. At the end of the nineteenth century, the town once again began to flourish, this time as a health resort, and since then it has been known as Bad [bath] Münstereifel.

Münstereifel was characterized as strongly Roman Catholic due to the presence of several religious congregations in the town. In the latter sixteenth century, the Jesuits[21] came and founded a secondary school. During the succeeding centuries, other religious congregations followed, and by the nineteenth century there were six religious institutes active in the town. Of course, the monasteries and the schools also offered opportunities for work, and that was another way in which they would have had a strong influence on the lives of the town's residents. When the period of French rule ended, the Jesuit school became the Royal Prussian State College. It had a good reputation, attracting many students from quite a distance, but when secondary schools were also founded in other areas, the number of students in Münstereifel dropped drastically. In the nineteenth century, the old Jesuit school was given a new lease on life when a diocesan boarding school took up residence there.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, not many more than forty Jews lived in the town. That number grew in the years that followed, so that by 1864, 133 of the total of 2,487 residents of Münstereifel were Jewish. This number would later decline. The Jews were especially active as butchers, merchants, servants, and tannery workers. In the mid-seventeenth century, a place for prayer had been set apart in the home of one of the most prominent citizens, on the main street of the town; however, the community was too small and didn't have the financial resources to support its own rabbi. From around 1835, Jews were permitted to buy land and houses, but the group

21. A religious order founded by Saint Ignatius of Loyola, often active in scholarship, teaching, and missionary activities. The abbreviation SJ is often used to refer to these religious, due to the official name of the order: *Societas Jesu* [Society of Jesus].

of well-to-do Jews remained small, as is witnessed by the fact that in 1854, three-fourths of the Jewish residents did not own their own land. Most of the Jewish families lived on one of three streets, two of which were in the center of the town and one along the town wall. The latter, "Heisterbacherstrasse" [Heisterbacher Street], was also called "Judengasse" [Jewish Alley] due to the relatively high number of Jews who lived there.

The Jewish community had to put forth a great deal of effort to provide their own (religious) education in Münstereifel. Between 1843 and 1848, the prosperous merchant Samuel Levy, together with his brother-in-law, Marx Wolff, saw to it that Jewish children were taught by a Jewish teacher. From 1859 to 1875, there was even a Jewish elementary school, in spite of the government regulations that only provided for public schools. Later, there was only a religion teacher, who often served as cantor for the Jewish community as well, and who combined these tasks with running a kosher butcher shop. A few Jewish boys attended the local secondary school, which first admitted Jewish students in 1849. In 1859, Hermann Levy, the son of Samuel Levy, graduated and went on to study medicine, but most of the students left school after three years, either to learn a trade or to use their knowledge in their family's business.

Salomon Leib and Marianne Levy had seven children. On September 19, 1852, their first child, Eduard, was born, which means that Marianne was already pregnant when she married. On Eduard's birth certificate, Salomon Leib's profession was noted as being "Handelsjud" [Jewish merchant], and he signed the birth certificate with the family name "Loeb," not "Leib." The birth of their second child, Nathan, followed on April 20, 1854. Leopold was born on June 5, 1856—this time Salomon signed the birth certificate with "Leib." Their first daughter, Johanna, was born on January 21, 1859. Later her name was changed to Jeanette, in accordance with the custom of adapting to the French-oriented culture of the upper class. She was probably named after Salomon's mother. Their second daughter, Christina, was born in December 1860. She was named after

Marianne's mother, but her name was later changed to Adèle. Moses, who was later called Moritz, was born in October 1862. Rosina was born in November 1864.[22] Marianne died in her maternity bed on November 17, 1866, following the stillbirth of her eighth child on November 4, 1866. She was thirty-five years old.[23] Now Salomon had to care for his seven growing children alone.

Salomon was an enterprising and presumably rather successful merchant, but he wasn't one of the most important cattle merchants in Münstereifel, and he didn't belong to the small number of prosperous Jews who owned their own houses and land. He supplemented the living he earned as a cattle dealer, selling to farmers and at the cattle market, with a fixed income provided by a horse exchange, in which he provided horses to pull carriages and other wagons. On the southwest side of town, there was a very steep road running uphill to the village of Nöthen and then on to Aachen and Belgium. In order to pull the coaches up this hill, either fresh horses or additional horses were needed. Salomon provided the horse exchange for this road. Presumably he also stalled horses that were used by stagecoach businesses. His oldest sons regularly had to help out by walking up the hill with a coach and then bringing the extra horses back down to the stable.[24]

22. Gemeente Bad Münstereifel, Burgerlijke stand: Geburtsregister 1852–136; 1854–74; 1856–93; 1859–8; 1860–72; 1862–59; 1864–76 [Bad Münstereifel, Municipal Archives (Germany), Registry of Births 1852–136; 1854–74; 1856–93; 1859–8; 1860–72; 1862–59; 1864–76].

23. Gemeente Bad Münstereifel, Burgerlijke stand: Sterbe-Urkunde 1866, nrs. 62 (*Todtes Kind männlichen Geschlechts*) en 64 (Maria Anna Levy) [Bad Münstereifel, Municipal Archives (Germany), death certificate 1866, no. 62 (Dead Male Child) and no. 64 (Maria Anna Levy)].

24. Documentation, Abel and Thea Herzberg, Amsterdam. Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to her grandson Mosheh, November 22, 1984. This documentation was used by A. Kuiper, *Een wijze ging voorbij. Het leven van Abel Herzberg*, Amsterdam, 1997. A copy of this letter, written in English, which A. Kuiper received, is now in P. Steffen's research documentation. Thea Herzberg-Loeb was Ludwig Löb's youngest sister.

According to family tradition, the village teacher once contemptuously rebuked Salomon's son Nathan with, "Du bist so faul wie Mist, du stinkst nach Mist und du fährst ihn auch."[25] From this we could conclude that Salomon Leib not only dealt in cattle but also kept cattle, either his own or that belonging to others. Such a remark might also indicate that Nathan didn't really do so well in school, but this interpretation is contradicted by the fact that Nathan was admitted to secondary school after he had completed his elementary schooling. It was probably a common expression, related by Nathan himself when he was older, expressing his pride in his ancestry in contrast to the (anti-Semitic?) contempt of the teacher.

Another well-loved family story took place around 1870.[26] When the Prussians demanded horses for their army for the war against the French, Salomon had to make his horse(s) available as well. On that occasion, according to him, he had met the Prussian king (who would later become Emperor Wilhelm II), who treated him rather contemptuously. Whether this meeting really did occur is doubtful, but it is true that having to hand over his own horse(s) would presumably have been a very heavy loss for Salomon. However, it could be that he had to put only the horses from the stagecoach businesses at their disposal. But in doing so, he would have lost the income from his horse exchange, and, naturally, that too implied a substantial loss of income.

The fact that Salomon could send his sons to Saint Michael's, the former Jesuit College, witnesses to his relative prosperity. Eduard at-

25. In English, "you are as lazy as dung, you stink as dung and you carry them also." Thea Herzberg-Loeb's own English translation in her letter to her grandson Mosheh.

26. Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to Mosheh; Abel J. Herzberg, *Brief aan mijn kleindochter* (Amsterdam, 1997), 28–29. According to A. Herzberg, the German emperor addressed Salomon Leib with the words: "Be gone, dirty Jew!" This contemptuous remark was masked by emphasizing the fact that the emperor had spoken to him.

tended that school from 1863 until the end of 1866, leaving school in the fall of 1865, but returning later for a short time. Nathan began his studies in 1864 and left the school in the fall of 1868, after completing four years of study. In 1865, Leopold began his studies, which he too pursued for four years.[27] It seems that Salomon regarded his sons' schooling as being quite important: that was the only way for them to get ahead in society. It was a clear sign of emancipation and integration into the Prussian social structure.

Salomon's daughters had the privilege of attending only elementary school with religion classes on the side. Nothing is known about the religious life of the family. Presumably they observed the most important dietary regulations. From whom else would Nathan have learned about using different table services for milk and meat? The fact that Salomon's sons attended the state college means that they also associated with non-Jews. As a cattle merchant, Salomon had regular contact with the predominantly Catholic population of the area as well.

After the death of his wife Marianne in 1866, Salomon married twenty-four-year-old Jettchen Meyer in September 1867. He was then forty-five years old. Jettchen had been born on December 8, 1842, in the village of Frenz, in Inden, near Düren, Germany. Her father, Joseph Meyer, was a merchant; her mother was Netta Moises. The parents of the bride filed a notarial act giving their approval of the marriage; it seems that they themselves were not present at the wedding. The marriage certificate did not mention any other family members either. Friends of the groom who lived in Münstereifel served as witnesses, none of whom belonged to the well-to-do

27. Schularchiv des Sankt Michael-Gymnasiums zu Münstereifel, *Alphabetischen Inscriptions-Buch Klassenliste 1847–1866* [Bad Münstereifel, School Archives of Sankt Michael-Gymnasiums (Germany), Alphabetical listing of registered students, 1847–1866]. This information was acquired through the assistance of Ms. M. Gädtke of Bad Münstereifel.

society.[28] Jettchen had relatives who lived in Münstereifel, and it was probably through them that Salomon and Jettchen met each other.[29]

Seven children were born during Salomon Leib's second marriage as well. Karolina and Frederike were born in Münstereifel in 1868 and 1871 respectively. Emma was born in 1874 in Gelsenkirchen, where the family had moved around 1873. Carl followed in 1876, Ernst in 1878, and Hermann in 1880. And last of all, Nanny[30] entered this world in 1882 in Düren, where the family then lived at Kölnstrasse 50.[31] By that time, Salomon was apparently concentrating his efforts on horse trading in the Düren area. A few years later, the family moved back to Münstereifel.

Eduard, the oldest son from Salomon's first marriage, was a difficult boy to manage. Around 1877 he emigrated to the United States. His younger brother, Nathan, had to accompany him to Rotterdam, where Eduard boarded the boat which would take him to the land of unknown opportunities.[32] Within the family, it is said that the

28. Gemeente Bad Münstereifel, Burgerlijke stand: Heiraths-Urkunde 1867–10 [Bad Münstereifel, Municipal Archives (Germany), Marriage Certificate 1867–10].

29. Cf. Kolvenbach*, Geschichte der Juden,* and Schulte, *Dokumentation*.

30. Gemeente Bad Münstereifel, Burgerlijke stand: Geburts-Urkunde 1868–79 en 1871–11 [Bad Münstereifel, Municipal Archives (Germany), birth certificate 1868–79 and 1871–11]. We received no information about birth certificates from the Municipal Archives in Gelsenkirchen and Düren. Letter from Standesamt [Registrar's Office] Gelsenkirchen, September 7, 1999. The places of birth of Carl, Ernst, Hermann, and Nanny are known from the census records in the municipal archives in The Hague. P. Steffen's correspondence with the municipal archives in The Hague, May–June 1999.

31. Stadt- und Kreisarchiv Düren, Dürener Adressbuch 1882 [The Düren Addressbook from 1882 in the City and District Archives of Düren, Germany] gives: Loeb, Salomon. Pferdehändler [Horse Trader], Kölnstrasse 50. Message received via e-mail.

32. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 6; Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to Mosheh.

reason Nathan had to accompany Eduard was to make sure that his problematic older brother really left, and that he didn't squander or gamble away the money he had for his boat fare.[33] It was Nathan's first time in the Netherlands, and, many years later, he recounted the experience in glowing terms.[34] During the second half of the nineteenth century, many Jews emigrated from Central Europe to England and the United States. Sometimes the political situation was the reason, such as after the unsuccessful revolution of 1848; the social situation and the increasing anti-Semitism around 1880 were also motives to leave; but the main reason was economic motivation: there was a great deal of poverty in the Eifel region, and very little work, leaving many with no favorable prospect for the future.[35] After Eduard left, Nathan took on the role of oldest son in the family.

On February 11, 1887, Salomon Loeb died. He was buried in the Jewish cemetery outside the walls surrounding the town of Münstereifel.[36] On his headstone, his family name appears as "Loeb"; his death certificate states, "Salomon Leib, genannt Loeb" [Salomon Leib, called Loeb]. He seems to have used the spelling "Loeb" more and more often. His death certificate also stated that he was of the Jewish religion. The inscription on his headstone reads as follows (in translation):

33. A memory of Conny Heerma van Voss-Loeb, a granddaughter of Nathan Loeb. Conversation in Voorschoten, September 12, 2000.

34. Letter from E. Loeb to his son Norbert, The Hague, December 10, 1950, about the commercial history of the Loeb businesses.

35. H.-D. Arntz, *Judaica. Juden in der Voreifel* (Euskirchen, 1983). In the nineteenth century, many Jews emigrated from Central Europe to the United States of America; cf. V. Gehring-Muenzel, *The Emigration of German Jews to America in the Nineteenth Century*, Leo Baeck Institute New York, Occasional Paper 3 (New York, 2000).

36. Gemeente Bad Münstereifel, Burgerlijke stand: Sterberegister 1887–9 [Bad Münstereifel, Municipal Archives (Germany), Registry of Deaths 1887–9] with the signature of Jetta Loeb, born Meyer.

> Here lies a man who was modest in all his doings and faithful in all his works. Shlomo, son of Mr. Moshe, died on the day preceding the holy Sabbath, on the 17th of Shevat, and was buried on Sunday, the 19th of Shevat, in the year 5647. May his soul be bound in the bundle of the living.[37]

Jettchen was left behind with several small children. Some of the children from Salomon's first marriage were already self-supporting. Salomon's second son, Nathan, took over a number of his father's tasks in regard to his brother and sisters, later caring for his half-brothers and half-sisters as well. Either shortly before or shortly after Salomon's death, the family moved to Heisterbacherstrasse, the "Jewish Alley" in Münstereifel. From the description which Nathan's oldest son, Ernst Loeb, gives of his visit to his grandmother, around 1890 in her house in Münstereifel, it can be concluded that they lived in the house next to the town gate, number 36 as the houses are currently numbered.[38] Ernst remembers it as a half-timbered house with a big kitchen and a brick oven. It was built against the wall of the town and had a so-called Berggarten [Mountain Garden], which you could reach via the attic of their house by crossing a wooden bridge. This garden ran high along the wall of the town, behind the

37. M. Gädtke, *Jüdische Friedhöfe*, Grabmal-Nr. 54. Translation of the Hebrew inscriptions by Mr. H. Boertjens, MA, of Zwolle. This inscription had been later restored, and presumably some of the Hebrew characters were incorrectly modified. During Kristallnacht, the Night of Broken Glass, in 1938, the Jewish cemetery was vandalized.

38. M. Gädtke, Hausgeschichte Heisterbacherstrasse 38, letter of January 20, 2001, to H. Evers, making use of data from the Land Registry Office and the Bad Münstereifel Municipal Archives. What is interesting in this regard is the novel *Marie* by Renate Günzel-Horatz, published by Patmos Verlag, Düsseldorf, 2000, which is partially based on historical research. The author recounts the history of the family which lived in houses 46 and 48 on Heisterbacherstrasse during the war. The houses the novelist is describing were numbered 36 and 38 in the days of Salomon Loeb and Jettchen Meyer.

yards of the other houses. Grandma Jettchen also had a vegetable garden outside the town gate, das Bachgärtchen [The River Garden] that ran along the banks of the little Erft River. Ernst and his Grandma Jettchen's children (his aunts and uncles, who were about the same age as he was) bathed in that little river on Friday evenings before the Sabbath began. They had to bathe in long robes because it was strictly forbidden to swim in the nude or in a swimsuit in Catholic Münstereifel.[39]

After World War I, Jettchen followed her children to the Netherlands, where she lived with her oldest daughter Karolina in Haarlem. She died in 1929 in Amsterdam.[40]

1.3 Nathan Leib/Loeb

After completing his schooling, Nathan, the second son of Salomon Leib/Loeb and Marianne Levy, was apprenticed to his uncle, Sigmund Simonson, who lived in Elberfeld near Wuppertal and was married to Mathilde Levy, a sister of Nathan's mother, Marianne.[41] There was a rather large, liberal Jewish community in Elberfeld which had adapted itself to the German culture in many respects. The first Jewish families had come to Elberfeld around 1800. In the period between 1860 and 1880, the number of Jewish residents increased greatly, so that by around 1885 the community numbered about 1250 persons.[42] Simonson had a textile business in Elberfeld, where he used production methods that had been developed in the

39. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 5.

40. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, H. van Broekhoven, Family Tree of the Loeb family. This Family Tree is largely based on oral transmission of information among family members.

41. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 8–9.

42. Information regarding the present-day Elberfeld, part of the municipality of Wuppertal, can be found on the website of the municipality: www.wuppertal.de. Further, in E. Pracht, *Jüdisches Kulturerbe in Nordrhein-Westfalen. II. Regierungsbezirk Düsseldorf* (Cologne, 2000), 283–97.

United States: while other businesses were still producing clothing by hand in the homes of the workers, Simonson had already split up the various tasks of the production process and was using an assembly-line method with the help of machines.

Simonson's level of production reached the point that he needed a network of warehouses and sales outlets to market his products. Since his own children were not really very interested in the business, he encouraged other relatives to come and work for him for a while, and then move on to other places and set up outlets there. That is how Nathan came to be his uncle's apprentice, so that he could become familiar with the production process and then, later, set up his own business. Within a few years, he had learned enough to be able to strike out on his own. With this in mind, he moved to Euskirchen, where there were already several clothing establishments, including the one belonging to his relatives, the Wolff family. Nathan opened his clothing and textile warehouse in Euskirchen in 1877, and announced that fact with advertisements in the regional newspaper.[43]

Shortly before moving to Euskirchen, Nathan married Lina Rubens. She was a daughter of Ruben Rubens and Hanneken (Hannchen) Strauss,[44] born in November 1854, in Gelsenkirchen. Nathan probably met her there, when Salomon Leib and Jettchen Meyer moved their family from Münstereifel to that city around 1873. Lina's father had originally worked as a peddler in Gelsenkirchen; later he opened a dry goods store in Düsseldorf and the family moved there.

43. Stadtarchiv Euskirchen: *Euskirchener Zeitung. Kreis-Intelligenz-Blatt für Euskirchen und Rheinbach. Amtliches Publikations-Organ für den Kreis Euskirchen,* Samstag den 17. Februar 1877, No. 14, und Mittwoch 21. März 1877. [Euskirchen, City Archives (Germany), *Euskirchener Zeitung*, Saturday, February 17, 1877, No. 14, and Wednesday, March 21, 1877]. On Wednesday, April 18, 1877, a large advertisement for Leopold Wolff's clothing business appeared in this newspaper.

44. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 6–7, and also mentioned in other places. E. Loeb, letter to his son Norbert (commercial history).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were about three hundred Jews living in Düsseldorf.[45] By the middle of that century, social security had increased, freedom of establishment and free trade had become a reality, and the Jewish community had grown to about six hundred persons. By the end of that century, the flourishing economy had made the city quite attractive as a place for new members of the middle class to settle. By 1895, the Jewish community had grown to about 1800, so that Düsseldorf was second only to Cologne in housing the largest Jewish community in the Rhineland. Socially speaking, most of these Jews accommodated themselves to the German civil culture; religiously speaking, they were liberal. With the surge of East European Jews following World War I, a more Orthodox Jewish community came to exist beside this group of liberal Jews.

Ruben Rubens moved his family to Düsseldorf during a time when economic life was flourishing. Many Jewish residents adopted the culture of the middle and upper-middle class, pulling themselves up to the intellectual and cultural level of the German bourgeoisie. That applied to the members of the Rubens family as well, meaning that Lina Rubens grew up with the traditional middle-class values, which she later imprinted on her children. Her son, Ernst, later affirmed that his mother was not very big, but that she was quite determined and bossy, insistent about order and cleanliness, and permeated with a sense of duty, frugal living, and hard work.[46]

During the course of the years, various bonds between the Loeb family and the Rubens family would come to exist. Lina's oldest sister, Rosa, married a certain Theodor Spiegel, who had a dry goods business in Gelsenkirchen and later in Cologne. Their business went so well that, after a while, they could afford to retire and live in Wiesbaden. They had three children: Meta, Otto, and Wilhelm. The latter studied law, became a lawyer, and married his cousin, Emma

45. E. Pracht, *Jüdisches Kulturerbe*. II. Regierungsbezirk Düsseldorf.

46. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 6–7.

Loeb, one of the daughters of Nathan Loeb and Lina Rubens. Lina's youngest sister, Jülchen, married the printer Max Klestadt. They too lived in Gelsenkirchen for a while before moving to Cologne. They had no children. At a later date, Ernst Loeb, the oldest son of Nathan Loeb and Lina Rubens, seriously considered taking over the print shop from his uncle, Max Klestadt, but ultimately decided against it. Another one of Max Klestadt's nephews, Ernst Spiegel, did take over the print shop and kept it in business until he emigrated to Palestine in 1938. In the next generation, the bonds between the Loeb family, the Rubens family, and the Spiegel family were once again strengthened by intermarriage when Meta Spiegel (Lina Rubens's niece) married Leo Loeb (a son of Nathan's brother Leopold).

Nathan and Lina lived in Euskirchen for only a few years, in part of the Becker House near the center of the city, at the erstwhile address Cöllner Chaussee 799.[47] In this house, which was hit during the bombings at the beginning of World War II and later torn down, their first child, Ernst August, was born in 1878. Naming their child in this way is a clear sign that Nathan and Lina regarded themselves primarily as German citizens. Marianne was born in 1880, but she lived only a short while. On November 16, 1881, their third child was born. He was named Ludwig, but was usually called Lutz within the family circle: he is the central masculine figure in this family history. On Lutz's birth certificate in the civil service registers in Euskirchen, the family name is spelled "Löb," whereas the birth certificates of Ernst and Marianne still use the spelling "Loeb." That explains why Lutz, as an adult, continued to spell his family name

47. Archiv Euskirchen [Euskirchen, City Archives (Germany)], EU II File 269: Survey of the census and housing records as of December 1, 1880; written information from Ms. Heyman, Archivist of the city of Euskirchen, Germany, letter of November 16, 1999, with the following enclosures: a map (FB05), drawings of the similar Weber House (140/7) and drawings from the land registry office (Fl. 32 and 33). Correspondence between H. Evers and Mr. Fr. Rheindorf, the present-day owner of parts of the former Becker Factory in Euskirchen.

differently from his brothers and sisters.[48] Ernst, Marianne, and Lutz also received Jewish names: Moshe, Miriam, and Jehoeda (also called Juda) respectively.[49]

In 1877, on the corner of Wilhelmstrasse and Neustrasse in the center of Euskirchen, Nathan rented a building which he used as a clothing warehouse and a store. He managed this small business until 1882, when he decided to emigrate to the Netherlands and set up a new business there.

Although Euskirchen was predominantly Roman Catholic, there was also a strongly organized Jewish community in the city.[50] The city profited from railway connections, which were an important

48. Gemeente Euskirchen Stadsarchief, Burgerlijke stand: Geboorteregister 1878–179, 1880–164, 1881–273 [Euskirchen, City Archives (Germany), Civil Service Registers: Registry of Births 1878–179, 1880–164, 1881–273].

49. In the *Stamboek* [Family Tree] by Norbert Leo Loeb, which he received from his father, Ernst, on October 1, 1941, loose pages are inserted with information about the children and grandchildren of Nathan and Lina Loeb-Rubens. Hebrew texts appear beside the names of the three oldest children, written in both printed and cursive characters. They were all born in Euskirchen, during the time that Nathan and Lina were active in the Jewish community there. The younger children were born in The Hague, when Nathan and Lina had no active connections with a Jewish community. It seems as if the younger children never received a Jewish name. This was written above Ernst's name: "*My son Moshe, 'may he be blessed with long life,' was born Mazzal tov at the beginning of the fifth day* [Thursday] *the 14th of Elu 1878. God will raise him for the Torah, marriage and good deeds. Amen. Selah.*" This was written above Marianne's name: "*My daughter Miriam was born Mazzal tov at the beginning of the ? day in the month Iyar 1880.*" This was written above Lutz's name: "*My son Jehoeda, may he live a long time, was born Mazzal tov on the fourth day* [Wednesday] *the 24th of Cheshvan in 1881. God will raise him for Torah, chuppah* [marriage canopy] *and good deeds. Amen. Selah.*" Presumably no blessing was written above Marianne's name since she died soon after birth. We express our gratitude to Mr. Jochanan Belinfante of Venlo for his help and the translation of the Jewish texts.

50. E. Pracht, *Jüdisches Kulturerbe*, I. Regierungsbezirk Köln, 341–55; K. J. Hofmann, *Drei rheinische Dörfer und ihre Geschichte*; Schulte, *Dokumentation*, 46–72.

prerequisite for increased trade and industrial potential, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century. A liberal climate reigned in the city council: contrary to the situation in Münstereifel, they were open to receiving the stream of new residents, especially when these newcomers brought business and industry along with them. In the course of the nineteenth century, the population of Euskirchen increased from about fourteen hundred residents to more than ten thousand, and the city developed into a center for textiles and leather.

When Nathan moved to Euskirchen, there were already several clothing stores, with their relatives, the Wolff family, being a prominent presence. Around 1883, there were thirty-seven textile businesses for a population of seven thousand persons within the immediate city and forty thousand persons in the surrounding area. In 1871, there were 150 adult Jewish residents, and that number would continue to increase during the following years. Many of these Jews were active in business and industry. The prosperous Jewish community owned its own synagogue, which quickly became too small for the increasing number of persons attending the services there. They considered expanding the facilities, but when the synagogue was destroyed in a city fire in 1886, they decided to build a new, larger synagogue. The majority of the members of the Jewish community belonged to the more conservative branch of German Judaism, but the trustees, who were prosperous businessmen, were liberal.

There was a sharp contrast between the two influential families, Wolff and Wallach, regarding the administration of the community, with Nathan Loeb being related to the Wolff family. In 1881, Nathan became a trustee (*parnas*) of the Euskirchen-Weilerswist synagogue community, along with Andreas Wallach and Arnold Marx.[51] Nathan's term of office ran through 1884, but it was cut short in 1882 when the Loeb family moved to The Hague in the Netherlands. The fact that he was a trustee of a Jewish community in no way hindered Nathan from explicitly appealing to the tastes of his potential cus-

51. Kl. H. Schulte, *Dokumentation*, 247.

tomers in Euskirchen and the surrounding area by advertising clothing especially made for Roman Catholic children who would be making their First Communion.

1.4 The Loeb family in The Hague and Elsewhere in the Netherlands

Nathan's decision to move to the Netherlands coincided with his uncle Simonson's desire to acquire sales outlets outside Germany as well.[52] For this reason, he had encouraged his relatives in the Wolff family to move to Belgium, where they opened clothing stores and department stores, first in Liège and later in other cities as well.[53] Nathan concentrated on the Netherlands, which he had first visited when he had seen his brother Eduard off on his trip to the United States. During 1880 and 1881 he had visited the Netherlands several more times, and now he began thinking about the possibility of moving there. Ultimately he rented part of a building on Noordeinde in The Hague, where his younger brother, Moritz, and his assistant, Jakob Sachs, helped him set up a business. During this time, Lina remained in Euskirchen with the children, Ernst and Ludwig. In 1882, Nathan opened his new business: selling clothing on the installment plan. He had adopted this new sales technique from his uncle Simonson, who had seen how it worked in the United States. The choice of The Hague, the seat of the government, was

52. We do not exclude the growing climate of anti-Semitism as partially influencing Nathan's decision to emigrate to the Netherlands. There were violent pogroms in Russia and Poland during those years. Many Jews from Eastern Europe sought a safe refuge in Central Europe or England or the United States. There were reports of oppression of Jews in Eastern Europe. In Germany, the arrival of Eastern European Jews increased anti-Semitic sentiments, which then found expression in political movements. Nathan Loeb certainly experienced the increasing tension. Cf. I. Schöffer, "The Jews in the Netherlands. The position of a minority through three centuries," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15 (1981): 85–100.

53. E. Loeb, letter to Norbert about commercial history.

partly inspired by the fact that many government officials lived there, persons who had a regular income and therefore would be able to make their payments on the installment plan.

Nathan Loeb's business slogan was: "Talk to Loeb and he'll take care of it." In his memoirs, Nathan's son, Ernst, while describing his father as a businessman, objected to the prejudice that Jewish businessmen were cold and hard hearted, and related how much patience his father had, and how he tried to satisfy his customers.[54] Abel Herzberg, who married Nathan's youngest daughter, also gives a positive image of his father-in-law, both as businessman and as father-in-law.[55] Lutz, however, didn't approve of the way Nathan conducted his commercial affairs—he had no desire to pursue a career in the family business. This led to conflicts between father and son, but when Lutz made it known that he wanted to further his education, his father provided him with every possible opportunity. According to Abel, Nathan was quite indulgent with his children. Abel's wife, Thea, confirmed this.[56]

Once the business was set up, the Loeb family moved from Euskirchen to The Hague, to Noordeinde 109. The clothing/fabric store was on the ground floor; the large upstairs area served as living space. Very few Jews lived in this area. Apparently Nathan didn't feel a need to settle in the closed society of a predominantly Jewish neighborhood. The choice of this building in this location was a sign of a further step toward assimilation and integration, as well as an orientation toward the affluent middle class. Later, his son, Ernst, would remember their arrival in that house as follows:

> It was a large upstairs dwelling. The front suite, composed of two large rooms, was used for the business—shelves and display cases made of black varnished wood with gold trim. Of

54. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait].

55. A. Herzberg, *Brief aan mijn kleindochter* [Letter to my granddaughter] (Amsterdam, 1997).

56. Thea Herzberg, letter to Mosheh.

> course there were mirrors, posters portraying men's fashions, and everything else proper to a clothing store. There was a courtyard behind those rooms, and a really long hallway running the entire length of the house from the front to the back—that was our favorite place to play. The kitchen and two other rooms opened onto this hallway. The last room also opened out onto a balcony overlooking the backyard, which the residents of the downstairs dwelling used. The third floor had a really large attic on the back side, and three more rooms at the front of the building, which were used as bedrooms for my parents, the children and one or another of the young aunts or uncles. My blissful first impression of our arrival in The Hague was that bright and cheery back room on the second floor, looking out over the backyard, with the table set for coffee.[57]

At first, the children were bathed in a washtub in the kitchen. Later, they went to the public bathhouse on Mauritskade. Then after a while, Nathan became one of the few (in those years) who had his own bathroom installed, with a large sunken bathtub and a water heater in the attic. According to Ernst, good hygiene was one of his parents' primary values—the bathroom had nothing to do with a penchant for luxury. In years to come, the Loebs would own the entire building; then the entire ground floor could be used for the store and warehouse, and more bedrooms could be built in the attic for the increasing number of children and other family members living with them. Prior to that, the children had used the attic as a gym.

Family tradition has it that the table service for meat products and the table service for milk products, required for the observance of Jewish dietary laws, got all mixed up when the family was moving from Euskirchen to The Hague.[58] From a religious point of view, these table services were now unusable and new dishes would have

57. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 5.

58. L. Löb, Juda, *Uit het leven van een jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 25–26.

to be bought, but Lina and Nathan decided not to do that and, from then on, not to be so strict about observing the dietary laws. Even though the cost factor did play a part, this decision was principally an expression of the family's readiness to adapt itself to the surrounding non-Jewish culture. Nathan and Lina were now living in a foreign country, in a city, far away from the village isolation and family supervision of the Rhineland, and this made it easier for them to adapt and no longer feel compelled to observe various Jewish regulations and practices.

The commercial contacts with Uncle Sigmund in Elberfeld continued for a number of years, as well as contacts with other relatives. In 1886, their son Ernst left The Hague to go stay with his great-aunt and great-uncle in their aristocratic home with house servants in Elberfeld.[59] Business and family relations were interwoven, and that would continue to be the case in the later commercial history of the Loeb family in the Netherlands. From the social perspective and in terms of lifestyle, Nathan's family was assimilated into Dutch society, especially into the culture of the affluent middle class, but this integration wasn't complete: they still maintained a certain orientation toward their close relatives as well as their more distant relatives in Germany.

During the first years of "The Business" (that's how members of the family referred to the store in The Hague), the family grew quite quickly. Their third son, Paul, was born in 1883. Johanna Martha followed in 1885. Emma was born in 1886 and Frits in 1888. Besides the growing number of children, Nathan's half brothers and half sisters were regularly living with the family as well. In 1882, Nathan's brother Moritz came to the Netherlands as a sixteen-year-old boy to help set up the business. Ernst Loeb remembers Uncle Moritz, together with the assistant Jakob Sachs, as a jolly pair with whom the children frequently played. They compared them to the then-famous comedy duo *Max and Moritz*, from the picture books by Wilhelm Busch. A few

59. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 8.

years later, Moritz had to go to Cologne to fulfill his service obligations as a German citizen. When he returned around 1895, he set up his own independent branch business, "De Bazar," on the Amsterdamse Veerkade in The Hague, quite near Noordeinde. There was a special telephone line installed between these two stores in The Hague.[60]

Nathan's brother Leopold also came to the Netherlands rather quickly, opening a clothing business at Ganzenmarkt 16 in Utrecht in 1886. He was married to Sybille Gumpertz, who had been born in 1858 in Aldenhoven. When Leopold and Sybille came to the Netherlands, they already had two children. Four more children were born in Utrecht, one of whom died within a year. In the census records, Leopold was first recorded as "Leib;" later, "calls himself 'Loeb'" was inserted.[61] The name "Loeb" was also used for business advertisements. In 1897, Leopold became a naturalized Dutch citizen, and, in 1901, the family name was formally changed to "Loeb." When Leopold died in 1905, his wife kept the business going until her son Frits took it over in 1910. In 1886, the business was registered as a "clothing warehouse." In 1890, advertisements spoke of it as the "oldest and most renowned warehouse for credit."[62] Apparently Leopold had used the same sales technique as his brother Nathan: selling on the installment plan.

Rosina (also known as Rosa) Leib came to the Netherlands around 1886. She lived with Nathan and Lina, where she helped out around the house and in the store. In 1888 she married Asser Cohen from Arnhem. The wedding celebration was held in The Hague, and Nathan purchased new oak furniture for the occasion. Asser Cohen was a traveling salesman for the firm "Kijl & Co.," located in Amsterdam, where he continued to work for some time after his marriage. In the meantime, a branch of the Loebs' business was opened in Arnhem, and Rosa was given an experienced

60. E. Loeb, letter to Norbert.

61. Written information from the municipality of Utrecht in letters dated June 5, 2000, through June 21, 2000, from the municipal archives.

62. Ibid.

employee, David Meyer, to help her manage this business. In 1894, Asser Cohen left the Kijl firm and, along with Nathan, set up the firm "A. Cohen & Co." in Amsterdam. Nathan traveled regularly to Amsterdam, indicating that the two businesses were closely associated with each another.

"A. Cohen & Co." was a wholesale manufacturing business, producing men's clothing as a cottage industry, as was usual at that time. The other family businesses became important customers of this firm, and later, Nathan's and Lina's oldest son, Ernst, would become the manager and expand it into a factory.[63]

In 1887, Frederike Leib came from Münstereifel to the Netherlands as a sixteen-year-old girl and took up lodging with her half brother, Leopold, in Utrecht. In 1892, she returned to the place of her birth for a short time. That same year, she married the abovementioned David Meyer (who had been the first employee in the Arnhem branch of the family business), and a clothing business was opened in Groningen for the newlyweds Meyer-Loeb.

The next one to come to the Netherlands was Nathan's sister Adèle, who married Jozef van de Berg in 1889. He was of Jewish descent and a traveling salesman, like Asser Cohen. After his marriage, Jozef retained his job at Blok in Nijmegen, a wholesale business dealing in watches. A branch business was set up for Adèle in Haarlem, which she managed with the help of experienced employees. Once Adèle was married and provided with a way to earn her living, her sister Karolina came to The Hague, where she spent several years with Nathan and Lina, doing housework in exchange for room and board. In 1892 she married Albert Winter, and they opened a branch business in Haarlem. Nathan's oldest sister, Jeanette, lived in Metz for a while before moving to Aachen, where she met Jeremias Bromberg, a bookkeeper for a factory that made bedding. Shortly thereafter they married and moved to Amsterdam, where Nathan and Leopold Loeb jointly set up a branch business under the name

63. E. Loeb, letter to Norbert; E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 32 ff.

"Gebroeders Loeb" [The Loeb Brothers], which was then managed by Jeanette and Jeremias.[64]

By 1900, the Loeb family owned a total of nine business establishments in the Netherlands, all of which were managed by Nathan's brothers and sisters—he was apparently of the opinion that the prospects and circumstances in the Netherlands were better than those in Germany. From The Hague, Nathan continued to keep an eye on all the business affairs, fulfilling the role of patriarch within the family. On Sundays, all the relatives who managed the various affiliates came to The Hague to discuss with Nathan how business was going, and their spouses usually accompanied them. As soon as a new branch proved to be viable, Nathan turned the business over to the managers, who paid back the financial credit which Nathan had extended and from then on conducted the business as an independent establishment. Nathan retained no shares or options in any of the various family businesses.

In the meantime, the youngest children born within the marriage of Salomon Leib and Jettchen Meyer were growing up in Münstereifel. In 1892, eighteen-year-old Emma died there. Ten years later, Hermann died. Carl, who had been born in 1876, came to The Hague, and the youngest child, Nanny, moved in with her half sister Adèle in Leyden. Ernst, who had been born in 1878, found housing and employment with his half brother Leopold in Utrecht. Around 1910, when their mother, Jettchen, moved in with her daughter Karolina in Haarlem, the entire Leib/Loeb family was in the Netherlands with the exception of Eduard, who had emigrated to the United States. The family home in Münstereifel was cleaned out and sold.

In 1888, Eduard came to visit his family. On that occasion, photos were made of all the brothers and sisters who were then in the Netherlands, along with their spouses, including Eduard. Ernst Loeb was ten years old when his uncle came to visit. From his own memories, or relying on what others had told him, he later noted that Eduard

64. E. Loeb, letter to Norbert; E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 34.

was a heavy man with mutton chops. In the United States, he was a not-very-successful butcher who was married and had several children. Shortly after his return to the United States, the Loeb family received a telegram from Eduard indicating that he too, along with his family, would like to move to the Netherlands, and that he was counting on support from his family. Nathan consulted his brothers and sisters, and they discussed possibilities for setting up a business for Eduard, but actually, Nathan preferred not having his oldest brother in the area. It seems that he still did not have very much confidence in him, and that he did not see much point in entrusting the management of a business to him. So Eduard remained in the United States and became an alcoholic, dying in poverty in 1907. The Loeb family never really had any contact with his wife and children.[65]

1.5 Nathan and Lina Loeb's Family in The Hague

Nathan and Lina settled in a rapidly growing city. Around 1870, the population of The Hague numbered one hundred thousand residents, of whom a good thirty-six hundred were of Jewish background.[66] Thirty years later, the total population had more than doubled, with the number of Jews increasing to almost fifty-six hundred. As early as the seventeenth century, Portuguese Jews had moved to the city; later, High German Jews[67] had also come. During the eighteenth century, many of the Portuguese Jews moved to Amsterdam, which meant that the High German Jews gradually began to predominate

65. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 15.

66. J. Michman, H. Beem, D. Michman, *Pinkas. Geschiedenis van de joodse gemeenschap in Nederland* (Ede/Antwerp, 1995), s.v. 's-Gravenhage, 368 ff.; D. Houwaart, *Kehillo kedousjo Den Haag. Een halve eeuw geschiedenis van joods Den Haag* (The Hague, 1986).

67. High German: this refers to Jews coming from Central Europe but also includes Jews who had traveled East during the Middle Ages. These Jews are referred to as "Ashkenazic Jews," while those of Spanish and Portuguese origin are called "Sephardic Jews."

in The Hague. This group lived primarily in one of the poorer sections of the city. The French occupation gave rise to division within the Jewish community. The majority of the Jews in The Hague were not enthusiastic about the new political situation. Although their social position had improved and their vocational opportunities had increased, most of the Jews in The Hague, as well as elsewhere in the Netherlands for that matter, favored the Orangists after the fall of Napoleon. They were delighted when King William I moved the seat of government back to The Hague, strengthening the city's position.

Many Jews lived on a low income, and street trading was extensive. For this reason, the Jewish section of the city (simply called "De Buurt" [The Neighborhood]) was known not only for its special character but also for its extreme poverty. Many Jews were dependent on support from the Jewish Poverty Board. In the nineteenth century, the painter Jozef Israëls was a symbol of the Jews' culturally and artistically taking root in The Hague: one of the things which he painted was daily life in the Jewish district. At the end of the nineteenth century, most of the Jews in The Hague worked in retail sales and stores. There were quite a few Jewish government officials, as well as a respectable group of professional Jews working as lawyers, doctors, and university professors. There was also a small group of large-scale entrepreneurs who managed businesses such as Esveha (wholesale paper products), Thabur (metalware), and Gazan (ready-to-wear clothes). When Nathan and Lina first moved to Noordeinde, they belonged to the middle class. The more the family business grew, the more influential their economic position became, but they never did belong to the upper class of large-scale entrepreneurs. Their style of life was that of the well-to-do middle class.

The Jewish community in The Hague had its own rabbi. Berisch Samuel Berenstein held this position from 1848 through 1893. He was followed by the Talmud[68] scholar Tobias Tal, who remained for only a short time. In 1899, Tobias Löwenstein was appointed. At a

68. Talmud: a collection of commentaries on the Jewish Scriptures.

certain point, a conflict erupted between this rabbi and the trustees of the community over the observance of the Jewish dietary laws, which was part of the reason for Löwenstein's departure. He was succeeded in 1904 by Abraham van Loen, who remained in office until 1925. Due to the community's rapid expansion, he was given an assistant, Izaak van Gelder, in 1917. In 1925, Van Loen was succeeded by Rabbi Izaak Maarsen, who, although not a Zionist[69] himself, was able to maintain good contacts with members of his community who had joined the Zionist movement. In the 1930s, this rabbi strongly resisted the establishment of a liberal Jewish community in The Hague, modeled on those in Germany and the United States. Nonetheless, such a community did come to be, and Alfred Loeb, a son of Nathan and Lina, was intimately involved with it. This is noteworthy because, during this same period of time, Nathan Loeb was one of the trustees (the so-called "parnasim") of the Jewish community. One would expect that this would have led to tension between father and son Loeb, who did go their differing ways within the Jewish community, but remarkable as it may seem, there is no mention of any disagreement or noticeable difference of opinion. That could be a sign of Nathan's tolerance. It was this Rabbi Maarsen who performed the ceremonies when Nathan died in 1940, as well as when his headstone was set in place a year later.

In 1844, a new synagogue had been built, replacing the High German synagogue, which was then more than a century old. In 1879, a second synagogue was built, which was principally attended by Orthodox Jews and which remained in use until 1925. In 1925, the High German community obtained a new, centrally located building which was large enough to house the synagogue as well as various offices, the rabbinate, and a meeting room. In 1937, the community began to use the large synagogue on Carpentierstraat, named after the De Carpentier family.

69. Zionism: a movement which advocated the establishment of a Jewish state in Zion, the Jews' earlier homeland in Israël.

Even though Jewish children had been admitted to the city schools since 1798, wealthy Jews continued to provide for their children's education themselves. The Jewish community did maintain its own school for poorer children, where Yiddish continued to be spoken for a long time, but after 1857, this school was no longer officially recognized or subsidized by the government, so the Jewish students had to attend the public city schools. Nonetheless, the Jewish community did continue to provide religious education outside regular school hours. In 1881, the Jewish community could once again establish its own school, which was officially recognized by the government, and the children of wealthy Jewish citizens who could pay the high tuition attended that school. Nathan and Lina Loeb, however, chose not to send their children to that school, not because of the expense, but rather because they wanted their children to act like Dutch citizens and not be raised in isolation. The children of Nathan and Lina Loeb did attend religion classes, however, which were offered within the Jewish community.

The decline in involvement in religious Judaism, which had already been quite strong in the nineteenth century, continued to expand its sphere of influence in the twentieth century. Many Jews no longer felt religiously bound, except at certain crucial moments in their lives, and the growing assimilation was disturbing to many. In response to this concern, synagogue communities established organizations to strengthen the sense of Jewish identity, including clubs and interest groups, especially for young people as a means of nurturing their Jewish consciousness. There was also the problem of missionary and conversion activities from the Protestant and Roman Catholic side: as a defense against these, the "Mikwee Isra'el" organization was set up in 1908. Justus Tal was one of the Talmud scholars who entered into debate, both orally and in writing, with Christian missionary organizations and other critics.

A high point in the Jewish history of The Hague was the Eighth Zionist Congress, which was held in 1907. Max Nordau, the right-hand man of the founder of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, made

the opening speech at that congress, and he took advantage of the occasion to address those attending the Second Hague Peace Conference, which was also being held at the same time. Whether that had much effect isn't really known, but it is certainly a fact that the Congress strengthened the Zionist movement in the Netherlands. Within the Loeb family, it was primarily the younger members who felt attracted to Zionism: Frits, Thea, and her future husband, Abel Herzberg.[70]

Nathan and Lina raised their children as Dutch citizens, accommodating themselves to the lifestyle of the wealthy middle class. Nathan learned Dutch quite quickly, but Lina had more trouble with the language. For a long time, German continued to be used within the family, and if Lina had to write a letter, it would invariably be in German. The children went to public elementary schools. Ernst remembered some anti-Jewish sentiments at the elementary school which he and Lutz attended: little boys from families of government officials and military personnel would sometimes call them names like "spekjood" [literally, "bacon Jew": a Jew who does not observe the ritual prescriptions]. The children from families who had come from the Dutch East Indies did not do that, however, and most of their playmates were from those families. According to Ernst, he and Lutz really did not have much trouble with harassment: "we all played together all the time and weren't excluded; however, the more pious Jewish students usually did set themselves apart."[71] By using this characterization, Ernst also reveals that the Loeb family did not belong to that group of pious Orthodox Jews, but rather to the assimilated, secularized group. Later, Lutz would write that his parents had gradually become liberal.[72] This is illustrated by the fact that the business was usually open on Saturdays, the Sabbath; however, this could also be viewed as simply commercial interest, without drawing

70. Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to Mosheh; Ako, file 427, letter E. Loeb to L. Löb, March 22, 1919.

71. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 11.

72. L. Löb, Juda, *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 25.

any further conclusions from the fact. The family was not too strict about observing the rules governing times of prayer and activities permitted on the Sabbath, but they did retain the traditional dishes of the Jewish dietary culture: the flesh of certain animals, such as pork and eel, was considered unclean and therefore was not served in the Loeb household.

The reason for maintaining certain traditions and practices was possibly more out of a sense that the Jewish culture should be preserved, rather than from any real religious motive. This was the case, for example, when it came to circumcising the boys. As already mentioned, the children did receive religious instruction, and the boys were prepared for their bar mitzvah.[73] However, the after-school religion classes that Ernst and Lutz attended left a rather negative impression on both of them:

> On cold, damp, winter evenings we had to walk through the rain and snow to get to the Jewish school. We did learn to read there, but we didn't learn what the unfamiliar words meant. It was deadly boring, rattling off prayers that didn't make any sense.[74]

Two little booklets were found in Lutz's estate, which he had probably used for these Jewish religion classes. One of the books contains the texts of Hebrew prayers and blessings; the other is a catechism with questions and answers.[75] Based on this knowledge

73. Bar mitzvah = Son of the Commandment, coming of age, achieving the legal religious status of an adult. In liberal Jewish communities, the bat mitzvah, Daughter of the Commandment, is also celebrated.

74. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 12.

75. Ako file 460: *Lof- en Dankzeggingen met Nederlandsche vertaling, benevens de voornaamste daarop betrekking hebbende Voorschriften (Dinim)*, and the introduction by Philip Elte (Amsterdam, 1923), third edition; *Jesuruns Wet, vervolg op Israëlitische Geloofsleer, bevattende: de voornaamste plichten van den Israëliet jegens God en zijne naasten in onzen tijd. Ten dienste der Israëlitische jeugd*, by J. H. Polenaar (Amsterdam, 1888).

and the private instruction received from a religion teacher, the boys celebrated their bar mitzvah. For the most part, that meant they accompanied their father to the synagogue on feast days. At home, the many blessings for various times and events were not recited, but they did use certain Jewish expressions as part of their common family parlance.

Looking back at his family life in the period from 1882 to 1895, Ernst concludes that the big feasts were celebrated as cultural memorials in their home, rather than strictly according to the ritual forms.[76] It is true that Father Nathan did recite the blessing for Passover, and the Seder meal was celebrated according to the ritual, but there were no other particularly religious activities. Father did go to the synagogue on Rosh Hashanah (Jewish New Year) and Yom Kippur (Jewish Day of Atonement), and Mother Lina did take care of providing the appropriate cooked dishes and baked goods for those days. Friday evening, the beginning of the Sabbath, was family time—other family members often came to visit—but ritual practices such as lighting the candle and saying the prayers for the evening meal were omitted. Lutz did remember his mother baking cakes and pies then, and the children being bathed and dressed in clean clothes. When the store was closed on Friday evening, the table was set for a feast. After the evening meal, mother never did any sewing or needlework, since the Sabbath was regarded as a day of rest. During the course of the evening, aunts and uncles gathered at the home of their patriarchal brother, Nathan, for tea. That's when the cake was cut, and other treats, such as fresh fruit and dried fruits, appeared on the table.[77]

The family achieved wealthy middle-class status rather quickly: business was good; they expanded the range of products offered for sale to include all sorts of household articles and furniture; Nathan was able to extend credit and set up new branch businesses; all the

76. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 11–13.

77. L. Löb, Juda, *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 26.

children went to secondary school, and some even went on for further studies; they bought rather expensive toys for those days, such as a child's bicycle; Nathan appreciated books and paintings, and purchased them regularly.

> He was a regular customer of old Mr. Blok, who had a little newsstand on the Binnenhof, and he often brought books and pictures home for us which he had picked up there. He bought paintings from young artists whom he supported, within his means. He liked visiting the Royal Library, to read there, as well as the Mauritshuis [an art museum], where he especially admired Vermeer's beautiful "View of Delft." He commissioned the young Jaques Zon to paint a good copy of that work for him and it enhanced the wall of our home for years.[78]

Their social contacts were primarily within their own family circle in the Netherlands and in Germany. They married other Jews, and business interests were often interwoven with the marriages.

In 1888, the family numbered eight persons: Nathan, Lina, and six children younger than ten years of age: Ernst, Lutz, Paul, Johanna, Emma, and Frits. In 1890, a seventh child, Alfred (Fredi) was born. Rudolf followed in 1893, but died a year later, and in 1897, the youngest child was born and given the name Thea. By this time, Ernst and Lutz had already left home. For a while, Selma Schimmel(p)fennig lived with the family,[79] serving as governess and teacher for the children while they were growing up. She came from Memel in East Prussia and later married Nathan's younger brother Moritz.

According to Ernst, his parents' home was characterized by regularity, orderliness, and peace. Lina observed the Dutch custom for her children's meals: a hot meal late in the afternoon. In the evening, after

78. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 16.
79. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 13.

closing the store, Nathan totaled the cash box, balanced the books, and came upstairs, where there was more to eat for the adults.[80]

In The Hague, Ernst wasn't making any progress with his studies, so he went to Utrecht and lived with his uncle Leopold for the second and third years of his secondary schooling. There he found a completely different style of housekeeping: Leopold's mother-in-law and sister-in-law lived with them, and Ernst remembers it as being lively and loud.[81] Ernst's studies at the secondary school in Utrecht weren't very successful either, so at age fifteen he was taken out of school and, with an eye on a career in the family business, apprenticed to Adolf Sernau, a business acquaintance who owned a factory for ready-to-wear ladies' clothing in Halle an der Saale. Ernst also worked for a company in Berlin for a while. He became ill, though, and Nathan got in touch with his cousin, Karl Simonson, and asked him to help Ernst. This son of Sigmund Simonson was leading a rather bohemian life, living off "the little that was still left from his father's business, which had really fallen off." Ernst remained in Erfurt for a while and then returned to The Hague.[82]

Ernst was then given a job in the new business which his father and his uncle Asser Cohen had set up in Amsterdam, as well as a room in his uncle's home. The Bromberg-Loeb family was also living in Amsterdam. Jeremias Bromberg was a man who appreciated music and cultural activities, and the Cohen family and the Bromberg family often got together: they went to concerts and theater performances regularly, or had a cup of coffee at the Krasnapolsky Grand Hotel in Amsterdam. Ernst enjoyed being included in this nightlife. While in Amsterdam, Ernst was also back in touch with his brother Lutz, who was living with the Bromberg family and attending business college in Amsterdam.[83]

80. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 13.

81. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 19–20.

82. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 23–31. The quotation is found on 29.

83. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 34; L. Löb, Juda, *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 30–31.

At the same time, their brother Paul was attending secondary school in The Hague, after which he was apprenticed to the Meyer & Günther Warehouse in Dortmund. Johanna, who was first called Henny and later Jo, attended the so-called "young ladies' school" in The Hague, and then left for Germany, where she lived at the boarding school for young ladies run by the widow Paradies in Frankfurt am Main. Her cousin, Anni Loeb from Utrecht, was there at the same time, and they both received the formation proper for young girls coming from an affluent background.[84]

In March 1902, Nathan and Lina celebrated their silver wedding anniversary in The Hague. The children decorated the house on Noordeinde, and the other relatives met in Amsterdam and then traveled together to The Hague. Around noon, all the aunts and uncles had arrived and were in the front room of Nathan and Lina's home. When the silver anniversary couple entered the room and saw the entire family gathered there, they were deeply moved. The oldest son, Ernst, recited a poem in German especially composed for the occasion, praising his parents for the way in which they had raised their children with a sense of duty. He also expressed the wish that, after their life of hard work, his parents would now be able to enjoy the fruits of their labors. As a gift from the entire family, the silver anniversary couple was presented with a silver chest and rococo silverware. Their daughter Johanna wasn't able to be present at the celebration, but she did receive an extensive report from her brother Ernst.[85]

A little later, when Johanna had returned from Frankfurt, a group portrait was made of Nathan and Lina's children. Shortly thereafter,

84. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 44–46.

85. The letter, dated March 24, 1902, from Ernst Loeb to his sister, Jo, was found inserted into the original copy of E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait]. The letter is written in German. This was the language used within the family, and Ernst probably also wrote in German because Jo was staying at a boarding school in Frankfurt at the time.

Alex Paradies, the son of widow Paradies, came to Scheveningen to enjoy the beach there, and he paid a visit to the Loeb home to ask for Johanna's hand in marriage. Alex was a traveling salesman for a diamond jewelry company. When they became engaged, Johanna was almost eighteen years old and Alex was twenty-eight. They celebrated their wedding shortly thereafter and the couple moved to Frankfurt. In their neighborhood in The Hague, Johanna and Emma Loeb had been known as "the beautiful Loeb girls."[86] While still in elementary school, when the school was honored with a royal visit, it was Johanna who had been chosen to present flowers to the Queen. Johanna was regarded—note well—as being the most representative "Dutch" girl in the school.

Around 1900, Ernst met Esther Wiener in Amsterdam. Nathan and Lina Loeb objected to this relationship, and Esther's guardian didn't see anything promising in an engagement either.

> At this point in time, I really can't go back and accurately determine the reasons for their objections anymore. My father probably had other plans for me. It seems that I remember something about someone in Cologne going to a lot of trouble to introduce me to a German girl. Maybe there was a bigger dowry? I don't know anymore. On the other hand, the question about my position in the business was raised: even though I was the son of one of the joint owners, I didn't have any official shares in the business; so I was really nothing more than just an ordinary employee.[87]

Nonetheless, Ernst and Esther pursued their relationship. When everyone was invited to a party, during which Alex Paradies was to be introduced to the family as Johanna's husband-to-be, Ernst indicated that he would not come unless Esther would also be welcome. In 1904, Ernst and Esther did get married.

86. Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to Mosheh.
87. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 45.

In 1906, the twenty-year-old Emma married her cousin Wilhelm Spiegel, who was a lawyer. Wilhelm, along with his brother Otto, had visited Johanna several times at the boarding school in Frankfurt, and had fallen in love with her, but Alex Paradies was ahead of him. At that time, Wilhelm was still a student and not in a position to be considered as a marriage candidate. A few years later, he asked for the hand of his cousin Emma. The couple then moved to Kiel, where Wilhelm set up a legal practice.[88]

When Paul returned from Dortmund, he joined the business in The Hague and gradually took over the leadership from his father. A few years later, while visiting Ernst and Esther in Amsterdam, he met Marianne Konijn, who came from a family of diamond merchants.[89] In 1911, she and Paul became engaged and, at the end of the year, they married. Paul looked a lot like his father, but was without his father's expansive entrepreneurial spirit; however, he was quite concerned about the well-being of his brothers and sisters, and he did take over the patriarchal role from his father.

Thea, the youngest member of the family, who had been born on her mother's birthday (March 9) in 1897, remembered being dressed in blue sailor suits as a little girl.[90] These sailor suits, which were the latest style at the time, were made in the ready-to-wear factory which her father and her uncle Asser Cohen owned in Amsterdam. As a small child, Thea was a bit sickly. She would often spend the night with her older brothers and sisters or other relatives. Here is her description of one of her visits to her sister Johanna in Frankfurt:

> First of all, my sister went with me to buy nice clothes and then they took me often for the evening meal to supper at the Palmengarten, and, besides that the food was excellent

88. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], passim; Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to Mosheh.

89. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 54.

90. Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to Mosheh.

> and the environment for my unused eyes like a fairy-tale, there was the most expensive playing-garden I had ever seen and I was allowed to go there as long and as often as I wished. The first years they lived in the middle of the town but afterwards they bought a nice villa on the outskirts of the town. They had two boys and two servants.[91]

At home, Thea grew up with her brothers Alfred (called Fredi) and Frits (called Sally). She got along really well with her brother Alfred, who went to Leyden to study law after graduation from secondary school. The image of Alfred as a military officer on a really big motorcycle is what always remained imprinted in Thea's memory. Their brother Frits, who was nine years older than Thea, was the most talented member of the family—his parents expected great things from him. After graduating from secondary school, he went to Delft to study architecture. His older brother Lutz had already graduated by that time. When he finished his studies, Frits was appointed city architect of Utrecht. He also designed a villa for his brother Ernst.

In 1916, Frits married Constance (Conny) Simons. She was "the nicest girl in town, a lawyer," according to Thea.[92] According to Ernst, she came from one of the most distinguished families in The Hague.[93] Constance was also the first non-Jewish spouse of any of the children of Nathan and Lina Loeb. Apparently by 1916 this no longer constituted a problem for them. Obviously, her background was a really big advantage but, even so, it was Frits who had introduced the Zionist way of thinking to the family and who promoted the renewal of their Jewish consciousness.[94] Thea in particular would follow in his footsteps, partly under the influence of her boyfriend,

91. Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to Mosheh. This is a direct quotation from the letter, which Thea herself wrote in English.

92. Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to Mosheh.

93. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 56.

94. Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to Mosheh.

Abel Herzberg, who would later become her husband.[95] Around the end of World War I, when Thea was visiting her older sister Emma in Kiel, she went home on Christmas Eve, under protest from her cousin Rolf Spiegel. Thea could not reconcile her convictions about her own Jewish identity with the accommodated Judaism of her relatives in Kiel, who were celebrating Christmas Eve just like the German Christians did.[96] This strong consciousness of their Jewish identity later emerged in Nathan Loeb as well and, to a lesser degree, in his sons Ernst, Paul, and Alfred.[97] But in the period preceding World War I, it was not yet so prominently present within the Loeb household.

2. The Van Gelder Family and the De Leeuw Family

Jenny (Jansje) van Gelder, the woman whom Lutz Löb would marry in 1907, belonged to a family which originally came from Amersfoort, where the first Jews who had come from Portugal had settled in the mid-seventeenth century. A few decades later, High German Jews had also come to Amersfoort. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Schaap family belonged to the governing body of that Jewish community. One of their sons, Leib B. Schaap, was chief rabbi in Amersfoort from 1847 through 1856. About that same time, a certain Abraham Jacob van Gelder was active as circumciser within the city and the surrounding area. In 1867, a conflict within the Jewish community led to a schism and a separate synagogue was built, but ten years later the two communities once again reunited.[98]

95. They married in 1923. This relationship will be discussed further in Chapter 3, in relation to later contacts between Lutz Löb and Abel Herzberg.

96. Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to Mosheh.

97. Ako file 427, E. Loeb, letter to Lutz Löb, March 22, 1919.

98. Pinkas. *Geschiedenis van de joodse gemeenschap in Nederland*, s.v. Amersfoort.

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Levie David (Jehouda) van Gelder was born April 1, 1842, in Amersfoort, where his father, David van Gelder, had a butcher shop. His mother was Jansje Kobus Slager. She had already died in 1872 when Levie David van Gelder started working for Elias de Leeuw, a butcher in 's-Graveland, who was married to Esther Schaap. That's how Levi met Elias' daughter, Sara, who had been born May 8, 1852, in 's-Graveland. Elias de Leeuw had already died when Levie David and Sara got married in December 1872. Sara was pregnant at the time. Several uncles and cousins served as witnesses for the wedding.[99] A year later, Levie David and his wife moved to Naarden to open a butcher shop there, where several members of the Van Gelder family were also living. In 1829, a certain Izak Levie van Gelder was a merchant and the owner of a finance company on 2e Markstraat (house number 347[100]) in Naarden. His father, Levie Abraham van Gelder, had also owned a bank, which Izak's brother, Salomon, had taken over in 1849, but which was liquidated and replaced by a municipal agency in 1874.

A great many of the High German Jews then in Naarden were butchers and merchants. In the municipal registries, however, the latter category included everything from the most destitute peddlers to affluent shopkeepers, and many of the Jewish families in Naarden in the nineteenth century depended on the Poverty Board for support. Between 1838 and 1874, Salomon Levie van Gelder, one of the more affluent members of the community, was the administra-

99. Gemeente 's-Graveland, archief burgerlijke stand: Huwelijksregister 1872–10 ['s-Graveland Municipal Archives, Civil Service Registers: Registry of Marriages, 1872–10].

100. The houses in the fortified town of Naarden were not numbered by street; rather, the numbering was continuous. In 1883, and again in 1899, the houses were renumbered. In 1918, the streets were renamed, and at this time, the houses were numbered by street. On the Land Registry's 1832 map of the fortified town of Naarden, house number 347 was the building on the corner of the then 2e Marktstraat and Gansoordstraat. This information is taken from the Naarden Municipal Archives, Land Registry Department.

tor of the synagogue and of the Jewish community. Around 1840, there were almost two hundred Jews living in this fortified town, but, as time went by, this number decreased due to limited housing and meager economic opportunities. In 1874, the total population of Naarden was twenty-seven hundred residents, of whom only sixty were Jewish, and these were even further divided: traditionally, there had always been tension between the Sephardic Jews and the Ashkenazic Jews. The synagogue on Wijde Marktstraat maintained its Sephardic spirit until 1886, while the Ashkenazic Jews held their services in their own homes. The Van Gelder family belonged to this latter group, which gradually increased in number and influence and in 1885 was reformed to become the Dutch-Israelite congregation. Eight Jews in Naarden were members of this new community, but that was too few; therefore, they offered payment to fellow believers from Bussum (where there was a larger Jewish community) in exchange for ensuring that the required "minyan" of ten adult men would be present for their services. A certain Marcus Haalman was appointed cantor and religion teacher for the benefit of this new community. They had their own cemetery on Kloosterstraat, and they later acquired land outside the town; however, the synagogue gradually fell into disuse, since the community really was too small. After Haalman died, services were held only on major holidays.[101]

Levie David van Gelder and Sara de Leeuw originally lived on Schipperstraat (house number 469), the present-day Kloosterstraat. After a few years, they moved to Markt (house number 397), the present-day Marktstraat 26. On March 19, 1873, Sara gave birth to her first child, who was given the name Elias, after her deceased father. The child was quite weak and died on May 24 of that same year. On April 16, 1874, David Levie was born. Their third child, born on December 17, 1875, was once again named Elias. Barend, their fourth child, was born August 9, 1877. Jansje, who was later usually called Jenny, was born in the house on Marktstraat on February

101. H. Henrichs, *De synagoge van Naarden. 1730–1935* (Amstelveen, 1982).

15, 1879, and was named after her grandmother. On January 13, 1882, her sister Heintje was born. Abraham followed on October 10, 1883, and finally the youngest, Elisabeth, was born on March 4, 1885. Levie David had servants working in the butcher shop as well as live-in maids for the Van Gelder family, among whom were his nephew, Arie de Leeuw, and his niece, Sara de Leeuw, who later married each other. In the course of the years, the number of servants and maids varied greatly, but this was not simply a matter of how many relatives he had, for Levie David also employed a few non-Jewish workers.

In 1886, Levie David bought house number 391 (the present-day Raadhuisstraat 1–3) for 6000 Dutch guilders. It was a corner building with stables and had lots bordering on both Markt and Wijde Marktstraat. He would have paid nine Dutch guilders per week interest and amortization. It was a large building, big enough for a home as well as a shop, and there was access to the slaughterhouse via Wijde Marktstraat.[102] The business was awarded the coat of arms of a royal warrant of appointment (issued to those who supply goods or services to the royal court), presumably because meat was regularly delivered to the garrison in Naarden, where troops were stationed. The Van Gelders had probably started out as kosher butchers many years earlier, but by Levie David's time, that was no longer the case. With such a small Jewish community, he would never have had enough customers to run the business at a profit—that's why the butcher shop was open on Saturdays. The means available to the Jewish community in Naarden were quite limited, so there was never any question of a flourishing Jewish religious community life there. Most of Naarden's Jewish community were very much assimilated and integrated into the secular life of the town.

102. Stadsarchief Gemeente Naarden: Kadastrale indelingen; Koopakte 1886 en Koopakte 1912 [Naarden, City Archives: Department of Land Registry; Title Deed 1886 and Title Deed 1912].

Sara de Leeuw was descended from a Jewish family which originally came from 's-Graveland and Kortenhoef.[103] Her grandparents were Arie Hartog Levie, who later called himself De Leeuw, and Saartje Eliasser, who was also known as Sara Elias Godfried. They had six children, and all four of their sons would become butchers. Around 1808, the family was living in a house on Noordereinde in 's-Graveland; prior to that, they had lived in nearby Vreeland. In 1850, Sara's father, Elias de Leeuw, bought a building on Koninginneweg and set up a butcher shop there. Shortly thereafter, he married Esther Schaap, also known as Heintje, who was a daughter of the Jewish butcher from Hilversum, Hijman Schaap, and Sara Swelheim. Elias de Leeuw was one of the leaders of this small Jewish community, and he made an agreement with his nephew, Hijman Izak de Leeuw, who was an advocate for the Jewish community of 's-Graveland: the shop building on Noordereinde 17–19 was to be renovated, and a synagogue and a Jewish school would be established there.[104] When Elias died in 1870, leaving behind a wife and five young children, his nephew Hijman bought the building, but his wife retained the slaughterhouse next door, where her son Arie slaughtered the animals. Arie had previously worked for the Van Gelders in Naarden.

In 1850, the total number of residents of both villages, 's-Graveland and Kortenhoef, was about twelve hundred persons, of whom thirty-two were of Jewish descent. For a long time, they had had a good relationship with the community in Hilversum; however, in 1859, following a conflict regarding the independence of the Jewish community in 's-Graveland, this group established their own community: they felt they had been too strongly dominated by the Hilversum

103. W. Fecken, *De joodse gemeenschap in 's-Graveland en Kortenhoef.*

104. In 1996, a commemorative plaque was laid with this inscription: "From 1858 through 1887, the former Jewish community of 's-Graveland and Kortenhoef established their own synagogue at this location." An ox's head hangs above the front door of the building (which is still recognizable as a shop building), evoking its former use as a butcher shop.

community. Family ties and complications regarding the appointment of a cantor also played a role. Hijman de Leeuw was directly involved in this conflict, since he was the owner of the building which housed the synagogue.

At the end of her life, when Jenny van Gelder was writing about her youth, she related that she had been born into a Jewish family "which practiced no religion."[105] Perhaps that was putting it a bit too strongly. Religious practices were maintained from a cultural sense of self-awareness and only at pivotal moments of one's life: circumcism, bar mitzvah, marriage, and burial. From the presence of a cantor and a religion teacher in the small community of Naarden, one can presume that the children were given lessons in Jewish religion and liturgy outside regular school hours, but there was really no possibility of maintaining a rich liturgical cult in the synagogue. The Van Gelders were highly respected members of this small community, and the cantor Haalman was certainly included in their immediate circle of friends.

Jenny's brothers, David Levie and Elias, moved to Bussum in 1902 and started their own slaughtering business there. Elias had first apprenticed himself to his uncle Barend van Gelder in Amersfoort in 1890. In 1903, he married Selma Ullman from Düren, and they had a daughter, Louise. Elias maintained the business in Bussum until 1936, when he emigrated to the Dutch East Indies. During World War II, the family was imprisoned in a Japanese concentration camp, where all three of them died.

During the city fire in 1904, the cowsheds and the barns which belonged to Levie David van Gelder were burned to the ground, and it is not clear whether he himself was able to rebuild everything personally. On November 17, 1906, he died at sixty-four years of age and was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Amersfoort. His

105. Akh F Löb 2: J. Löb-van Gelder, *Mijn weg tot Kristus* [*My Journey to Christ*].

headstone bears the usual Hebrew inscriptions.[106] His wife Sara and his son Barend kept the butcher shop open until 1912, when the municipality of Naarden bought the building from the Van Gelder estate for 5000 Dutch guilders. The house had to be vacated immediately; the building was later demolished and replaced by municipal buildings. In the meantime, Sara had moved in with her son David Levie in Bussum, along with the youngest of her children and her sister Betje. In 1913, her sister Kaatje joined them there. Barend too moved to Bussum, where together with his mother he once again started a slaughtering business. This time business didn't go so well: in 1913 they declared bankruptcy. Shortly thereafter, however, the debts could be paid off, so in 1914 the bankruptcy was annulled. In 1916, Barend moved to Amsterdam as a merchant, where he married Heintje Raphaël, Jacob Raphaël's sister. In 1918, Jenny's sister Heintje would marry Jacob Raphaël. Barend and Heintje lived in Amsterdam for a while, and then in Bussum, and later in Hilversum. They never had any children and, in 1936, Barend died.

David Levie could not make it as a butcher in Bussum, so he became a traveling sales representative for a pottery business and moved back to Naarden in 1924. From 1927 through 1929, his youngest brother, Abraham, lived with him. Abraham became a sales representative for luxury articles, living in Naarden for a while, and then in Bussum or Amsterdam for a while. In 1933, he married Andrea van den Kieboom (who came from a Catholic family) in Antwerp,

106. Translation of the inscription on the headstone by Mr. H. Boertjens, MA, of Zwolle: Of Judah, he said this (Dt. 33:7): Here is where Jehoeda is buried, the son of David van Gelder, from the city of Naarden, and Jeanet [?], who went on to the eternal world at the end of the holy Sabbath on the 1st of Kislev, Rosh Chodesh, the first day of the month, the day of the new moon, and who was buried on the fourth day of that month 5667—may his soul be bound in the bundle of the living [1 Samuel 25:29]. In addition, the following was inscribed in Dutch: Levi David van Gelder, husband of Sara de Leeuw, born in Amersfoort on the 21st of Nissan 5602 [April 1, 1842], died in Naarden on the 1st of Kislev 5667 [November 17, 1906].

where he opened a bookstore and a small publishing house. He died there in 1956. According to family tradition, he was a "bon vivant."

Initially daughter Heintje worked as a nurse, but after completing a course of studies at the music conservatory in Amsterdam, she became a singing teacher and married Jacob Raphaël. Elisabeth, the youngest child of Levie David and Sara van Gelder, was also artistically inclined: she studied painting and married the artist Paul (Pol) Dom in Naarden in 1911. He had been born into a Catholic family in Antwerp in 1885. Elisabeth and Pol moved to Ixelles, near Brussels, where their first daughter, Elise Louise, was born in 1913. The family moved to The Hague in 1927. In 1936 Elisabeth committed suicide, perhaps partially due to the political situation, which was becoming more and more threatening. Pol Dom continued living in The Hague, where he died in 1978. His daughter, Elise Louise, had emigrated to the United States a few years earlier.[107]

107. De gemeentelijke archiefdienst Amersfoort, Bevolkingsregister 1860–1915: gezinsblad [Municipal Archives, Amersfoort, Census Registry 1860–1915: family record]; Register Amsterdam, Bureau Burgerzaken: Bevolkingsadministratie na 1920 en Overlijdensregister [Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, Civic Affairs: Public Administration after 1920 and Registry of Deaths]; Stad Antwerpen, Burgerzaken: Bevolkingsregister [City of Antwerp, Civic Affairs: Census Registry]; Streekarchief Gooi en Vechtstreek: Bevolkingsregister en Huwelijksakten gemeente 's-Graveland [Gooi en Vechtstreek, District Archives: Census Registry and Marriage Certificates, the Municipality of 's-Graveland]; gemeente Den Haag, Dienst Burgerzaken: Bevolkingsregister 1913–1939 [Municipality of The Hague, Civic Affairs Office: Census Registry 1913–1939]; het Utrechts Archief: Overlijdensregister [Utrecht Archives: Registry of Deaths]; gemeentearchief Ouder-Amstel: Bevolkingsregister [Municipal Archives, Ouder-Amstel: Census Registry]. Stadsarchief gemeente Naarden: Bevolkingsregister 1861–1880, 1880–1900, 1900–1921; Overlijdensakten 1906–1947; Geboorteakten 1879–1917, ondermeer akte 1879–17 Jansje van Gelder; Bevolkingsregister Bussum 1900–1917: grote gezinskaart Van Gelder [Naarden City Archives: Census Registry 1861–1880, 1880–1900, 1900–1921; Death certificates 1906–1947; Birth certificates 1879–1917, including birth certificate 1879–17 Jansje van Gelder; Census Registry Bussum 1900–1917: extensive Van Gelder family record].

Jenny attended elementary school in Naarden, probably took religion classes with Marcus Haalman, and then went on to a secondary school for girls. Her youth was rather carefree, in light of the relative prosperity which the family enjoyed. During the summer, the family often went to the beach or to the woods. They also had a country home at their disposal.[108]

Jenny started taking piano lessons when she was still quite young. By 1900, she was taking private piano lessons from Anton Tierie in Amsterdam.[109] She studied general music theory with Daniël de Lange at the conservatory,[110] and took part in the recitals given by the conservatory students, even though she herself wasn't officially enrolled as a student. A concert program from 1900 explicitly states that she was a student of Mr. Tierie and Mr. De Lange.[111] Later, Jenny remembered that Pieter van der Meer de Walcheren had been in her class when she was studying with Daniël de Lange.[112] At the time, that had not meant a lot to her, but when she was writing about it later (in 1933), Van der Meer de Walcheren enjoyed a certain fame within Catholic circles as a convert and a writer.[113]

As she herself put it, Jenny led a rather independent life, just as her sisters Heintje and Elisabeth did. The three girls did not have

108. Akh F Löb 2, J. Löb-van Gelder, *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [*My Journey to Christ*].

109. Anton Tierie (1870–1938), director, pedagogue, and organist, who also taught the basic required course at the conservatory. See S. Bottenheim, *Prisma Encyclopedie der muziek*, 3rd ed. (Utrecht/Antwerp, 1957), 159.

110. Daniël de Lange (1841–1918), composer and teacher at the Muziekschool van Toonkunst [Music School for Art Music] in Amsterdam. See E. Reeser, *Een eeuw Nederlandse muziek, 1815–1915*, rev. ed. (Amsterdam, 1986), 127–29.

111. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, Concert program from the theater "Thalia" in Bergen op Zoom.

112. Ako file 429, letter from Jenny, December 4, 1933.

113. J. van Oudheusden, et al., eds., *Brabantse biografieën*. Nr. 3 (Amsterdam/Meppel, 1995), 88–91.

to work in the butcher shop. The fact that all three of them were allowed to develop culturally and artistically leads one to conclude that their family was oriented toward the wealthy middle class, and that they had the necessary means at that time. Family tradition has it that Jenny and Heintje occasionally traveled by coach to expensive clothing stores in Amsterdam.[114] That must have been in the period before 1904, before Jenny's father suffered enormous losses in the city fire. Jenny, however, never wrote anything at all about that fire or its consequences. Neither did she ever say anything specific about when and where she met Lutz Löb in Amsterdam.

After her father died in 1906, the butcher business went downhill and, when bankruptcy was declared, the family fell apart. Jenny's mother, Sara de Leeuw, became sick and was admitted to a mental institution in Utrecht. She died there on April 23, 1920, and was buried beside her husband in Amersfoort. She too was given a headstone with the usual Hebrew inscriptions.[115]

Weighing the Evidence

Lutz Löb was descended from a family of German Jewish merchants who managed to climb the social ladder in the course of the nineteenth century. Beginning as country peddlers with an uncertain existence, most of the family became well-to-do merchants in the textile and clothing business, moving their families and their businesses to the centers of large cities. Lutz's parents emigrated from the Rhineland countryside to The Hague, where they profited from

114. According to Mrs. P. van Broekhoven-Löb, who was told this by her mother, Jenny.

115. Translation of the inscription on the headstone by Mr. H. Boertjens, MA, of Zwolle: Here lies a good woman, Sara, the daughter of Kohen Eliahoe de Leeuw and Esther, and Sara died on Friday, the 5th of Iyar and she was buried on the following Monday in the year 5680 – may her soul be bound in the bundle of the living. And in Dutch: Here rests Sara de Leeuw, wife of Levie David van Gelder, died on the 5th of Iyar [April 23] 5680 [1920].

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the flourishing economy at the turn of the century, which in turn made their assimilation into the culture of the local society easier. Lutz grew up with the values of hard work and a frugal lifestyle. However, the family's integration into Dutch society was limited: the social network for Nathan and Lina's family was constituted by their relatives and their business contacts in the Netherlands, with an orientation toward German culture and other family members who were still living in Germany.

Schooling was regarded as the best way to advance, especially for the sons. At first, this schooling was oriented toward a profession in one of the family businesses, with Lutz being the first to pursue an academic course of studies. The traditional village Judaism of the Rhineland, which to a great extent had already been adapted to the predominantly Christian surroundings, gradually gave way to a secularized Judaism, in which some religious practices were maintained at pivotal moments in their private lives, but which for the most part had nothing more than a social function. In The Hague, the Loeb family had very few connections with the vital Jewish community there. Family ties were close, and Lutz spent most of his time with his oldest brother Ernst.

Jenny van Gelder was descended from families who had been living in the Netherlands for several generations. For quite a long time, most of the male members of the Van Gelder family and the De Leeuw family had been butchers, with members of both families living and working in towns and villages in the central part of the country. They too profited from the flourishing economy at the end of the nineteenth century, which enabled them to expand their businesses. Various family members held important positions within the small Jewish communities. Jenny's parents belonged to the elite of the Jewish community in Naarden, but there was little opportunity for a flourishing Jewish religious community life there. Certain aspects of the Jewish religion were maintained within the family circle (for example, the Hebrew inscriptions on her parents' headstones), but apparently Jenny did not experience them as such.

As long as business was good, the Van Gelder family could adapt to the lifestyle of the well-to-do middle class. The father's death in 1906 led to a decline in business, which ultimately ended in bankruptcy. It seems that the family was inclined to live beyond its means. Jenny and her sisters were given opportunities to develop their cultural talents, a sign of how much the Van Gelder family had adapted to the culture of the prosperous middle class, but also a fact which allows one to conclude that, within the Van Gelder family, there was an awareness that the daughters too had a right to take part in the process of social emancipation.

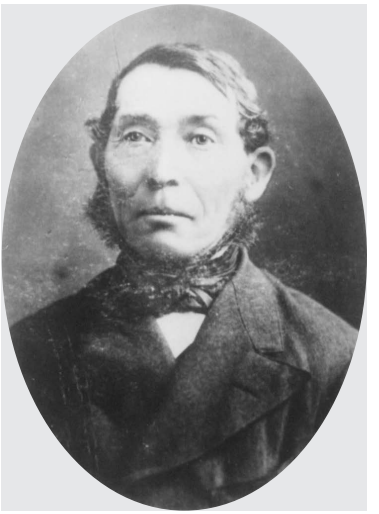
Lutz grew up in prosperity and was predestined to receive a position within the family business upon completing his education. For Jenny, the future was not predetermined: she had no interest in the butcher shop, and her parents gave her the opportunity to develop freely. Her memories of their prosperous years predominate.

Salomon Leib/Loeb (1822–1887).

Salomon Loeb's headstone
in Münstereifel.

Jettchen Meyer (1844–1929),
Salomon Leib's second wife.

Hannchen (Anna) Strauss
(1822–1904), Lina Rubens's mother.



Ruben Rubens (1816–1892),
Lina Rubens's father.

Nathan Loeb in 1893.

Lina Loeb-Rubens in 1893.

Nathan Loeb's brothers and sisters with their spouses, a photo collage from 1888.

Neustraße. Nathan Loeb, Ecke der Wilhelmstraße.
Euskirchen.
Zur bevorstehenden Saison erlaube mir auf mein best assortirtes Lager
fertiger Herren- und Knaben-Garderoben,
sowie auf sämmtliche Qualitäten von Tuchen und Buxkins
ergebenst aufmerksam zu machen.
Anfertigung nach Maaß elegant und solide.
Ecke der Neu- und Wilhelmstraße.
Nathan Loeb,
Euskirchen.
Ecke der Neu- und Wilhelmstraße.

Advertisements for the Loeb business in the *Euskirchener Zeitung* [the Euskirchen Gazette].

TAILLE-COSTUMES. MANTEL-COSTUMES. JONGE DAMES- EN KINDERKLEEDING. PALETOTS EN MANTELS. BLOUSES EN ROKKEN.

DAMES-COSTUUMS
De nieuwste modellen en kleuren
Enorme sorteering in alle maten

ZIJDEN EN WOLLEN STOFFEN

DAMES-MANTELS, zeer groot sortiment in alle prijzen.

DAMES-COSTUUM-ROKKEN — BLOUSES
JUPONS.

DAMES-HOEDEN

De laatste mode. Zeer groote collectie.

Firma N. LOEB

NOORDEINDE 109-111 DEN HAAG

OUDSTE MAGAZIJN
met Verkoop op Termijnbetaling

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„ „ 75.—	„	„ 1.50	„	„ 6.—
„ „ 100.—	„	„ 2.50	„	„ 8.—
„ „ 150.—	„	„ 2.50	„	„ 10.—
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STRENG DISCREET.

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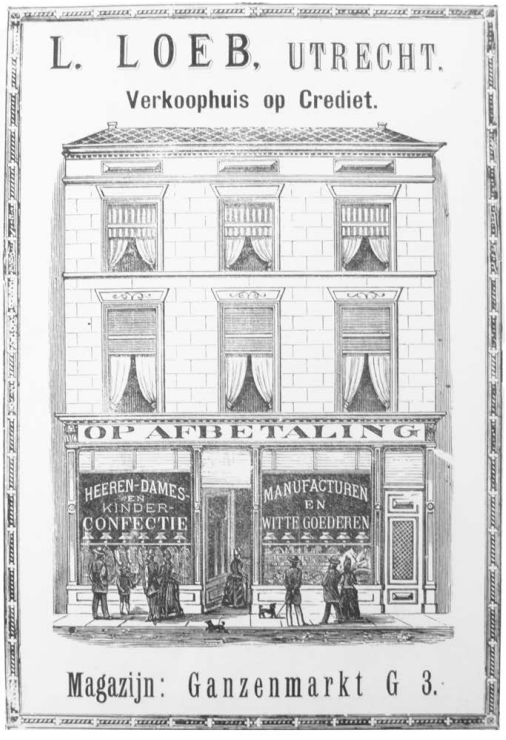
WITTE GOEDEREN
TAFEL GOEDEREN
WOLLEN EN KATOENEN STOFFEN.

HEEREN-, DAMES- EN KINDER-SCHOENWERK.

An advertising folder (1916) for the Loeb business in The Hague.



The establishment of the Utrecht branch of the Loeb business, around 1890.

Jubilee poster (1937) for the Loeb business in The Hague.

Lutz (three years old) and Ernst (six years old), The Hague, 1884.

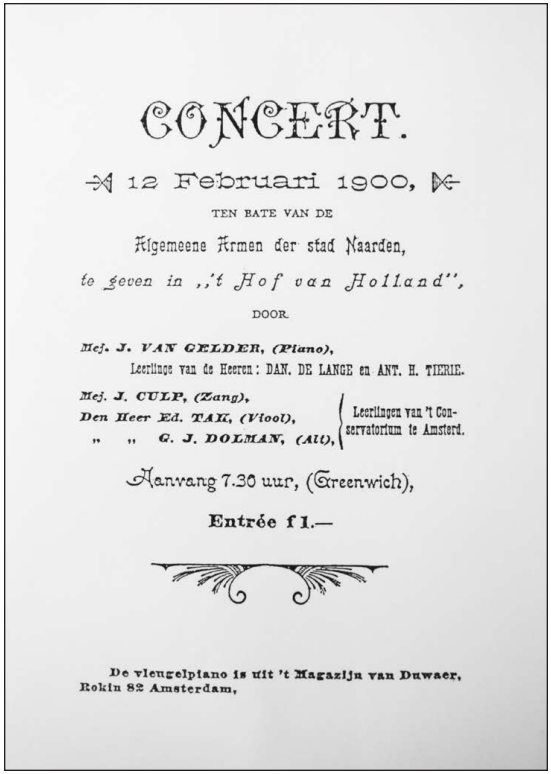
Six of the Loeb children, The Hague, 1890. Standing, from left to right: Johanna, Ernst, Paul, Lutz. Sitting: Emma and Frits.

Five of the Loeb children, The Hague, 1898, from left to right: Frits, Johanna, Thea, Emma, and Alfred.

In March 1902, Nathan and Lina celebrated their silver wedding anniversary in The Hague. The children posed for the occasion, from left to right: Emma, Frits, Thea, Lutz, Ernst, Johanna, Alfred, and Paul.

Loeb Family Reunion in The Hague, 1905. Standing, left to right: Ernst, Emma, Fritz, Alex Paradies. Sitting, left to right: Lutz, Esther Wiener, Nathan, Lina, Johanna with her son Frits on her lap, Thea. Sitting in the foreground: Alfred and Paul.

A portrait photo of Jenny van Gelder, ca. 1900.



CONCERT.

12 Februari 1900,

TEN BATE VAN DE

Algemeene Armen der stad Naarden,

te geven in „'t Hof van Holland",

DOOR

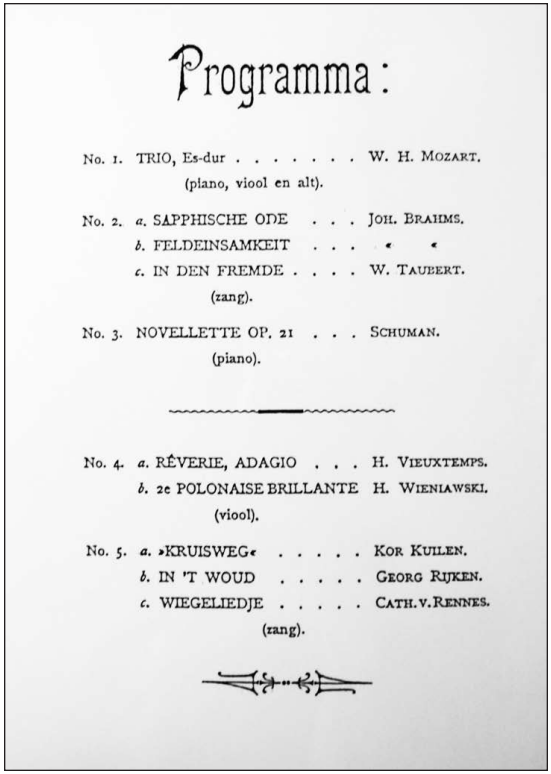
Mej. J. VAN GELDER, (Piano),
Leerlinge van de Heeren: DAN. DE LANGE en ANT. H. TIERIE.

Mej. J. CULP, (Zang),
Den Heer Ed. TAK, (Viool),
„ „ G. J. DOLMAN, (Alt),
Leerlingen van 't Conservatorium te Amsterd.

Aanvang 7.30 uur, (Greenwich),

Entrée f 1.—

De vleugelpiano is uit 't Magazijn van Duwaer, Rokin 82 Amsterdam.



Programma:

No. 1. TRIO, Es-dur . . . . . W. H. MOZART.
(piano, viool en alt).

No. 2. *a.* SAPPHISCHE ODE . . . JOH. BRAHMS.
b. FELDEINSAMKEIT . . . " "
c. IN DEN FREMDE . . . . W. TAUBERT.
(zang).

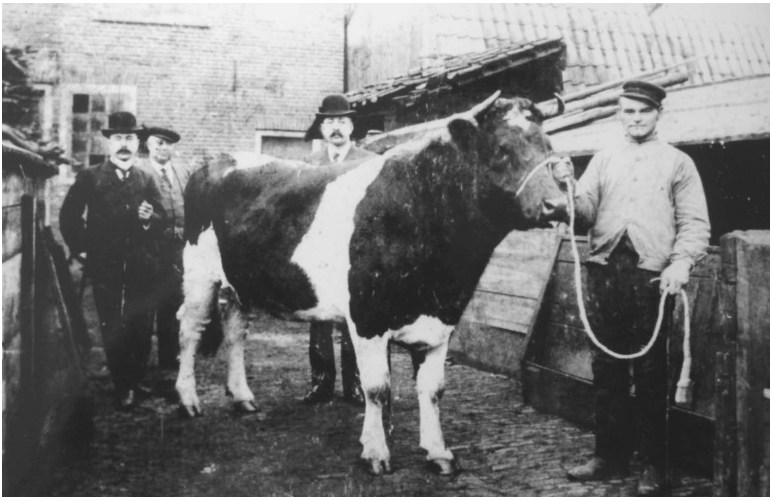
No. 3. NOVELLETTE OP. 21 . . . SCHUMAN.
(piano).

No. 4. *a.* RÊVERIE, ADAGIO . . . H. VIEUXTEMPS.
b. 2e POLONAISE BRILLANTE H. WIENIAWSKI.
(viool).

No. 5. *a.* »KRUISWEG« . . . . . KOR KUILEN.
b. IN 'T WOUD . . . . . GEORG RIJKEN.
c. WIEGELIEDJE . . . . . CATH. V. RENNES.
(zang).

A program from a concert in which Jenny van Gelder performed as a pianist.

The house on Marktstraat, beside the City Hall in Naarden, where Jenny van Gelder grew up.



The cattle stalls behind the Van Gelder's butcher shop in Naarden were destroyed by fire in 1904. In this photo from around 1904: hired hand Steven Brand (1873–1952), with a cow. Behind the cow, Jenny Löb-van Gelder's father and brothers, from left to right: brother David (1874–1943), father Levie David (1842–1906), and brother Barend van Gelder (1877–1936).

LEVI DAVID VAN GELDER
ECHTGENOOT VAN SARA DE LEEUW
GEB. TE AMERSFOORT 21 NIESSAN 5602
OVERL.: TE NAARDEN 1 KISLEW 5667
HIER RUST
SARA DE LEEUW
ECHTGENOOTE VAN
LEVIE DAVID van GELDER
OVERL. 5 IJAR / 23 APRIL 5680.

The headstones of Jenny van Gelder's parents in Amersfoort.

2

LUTZ LÖB AND JENNY VAN GELDER

1897–1907

I went through everything, all the ups and downs
that could possibly occur in the life of a young girl like me,
studying in the capitol city and living a rather independent life.
That's how I met my future husband and, after a while, we got engaged.
My fiancé was the one who advised me to read something about religion.
Among other things, he told me he wanted to know more about Catholicism,
that it had made a deep impression on him.
Honestly, I have to admit, this announcement really shocked me.
I wasn't at all attracted to the idea of adopting a religion,
and the way my fiancé spoke about the Catholic faith really scared me.
In spite of my reluctance, though, I did read what my fiancé advised,
but only because the man whom I loved was also reading the same things.
And later, I agreed to let a priest we knew instruct me in the Roman Catholic faith.
I got to know God and I began to realize that the Catholic faith is the true faith,
but when I thought of the tremendous step I would have to take if I agreed to
be baptized,
it was really quite staggering:
leaving behind my family, which was so dear to me,
and my many dear Jewish friends and acquaintances
whom, I was sure, would no longer want to know me as one of their own.
We were baptized in private, a few days before our wedding.
That was such a happy day—I'll never forget it!
And we got married, also in private.

The priest who was directing us advised us to live as crypto-Catholics, which we both did.
Now I was really glad about that,
since I was pretty much in favor of taking the easy way out,
and we only went to church when it was really necessary and completely safe.

That is how Jenny van Gelder, just a few years before her death, described what had been a crucial period in her life, namely how she had met Lutz Löb and their subsequent mutual conversion to the Roman Catholic faith.[1] She had been studying in Amsterdam when she met Lutz, and their mutual conversion had been at his initiative. She went along with his interest in Catholicism because she loved him, despite the fact that, initially, in her own heart, she did not like the idea very much. Little by little, she began to appreciate Catholicism, but she also foresaw that conversion would result in separation from her Jewish family and friends. In the end, the decisive element for Jenny was the fact that the Catholic faith offered answers to fundamental questions which she had about life. Their spiritual director's advice to live as crypto-Catholics[2] for the time being responded to Jenny's fear of separation from her Jewish friends and acquaintances, as well as to her tendency to take the easy way out. During this period, she was really less enthusiastic about their faith than her husband, Lutz.

In her own account, Jenny does not give any exact dates for her baptism and marriage. This chapter, however, will describe Lutz and Jenny's conversion process in detail, culminating in their baptism and marriage.

1. Akh F Löb 2. Jenny Löb-van Gelder, *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [My Journey to Christ].

2. Crypto-Catholic: Catholic in private, not required to participate in public worship services.

How did Lutz and Jenny meet each other? What happened during their engagement? Why did Lutz convert to the Catholic Church? What kind of a relationship did he have with Jenny, to be able to convince her to be baptized as well? Why did the baptism ceremony take place in private? Why was the ecclesiastical wedding ceremony held in private? Why did the priest in question advise them to live as crypto-Catholics and what were the consequences of this for Lutz and Jenny? These questions will be discussed in this chapter. We will sketch the developments in the lives of Lutz and Jenny during the period 1897–1907, when both of them, as young adults, began to make their own decisions about their lives and, in so doing, chose paths which clearly diverged from those usually taken by other members of their families.

1. Lutz's Education and Spiritual Journey

We can distinguish several steps in Lutz's spiritual journey leading to his conversion to Catholicism, with each step being characterized by a change of environment, by associations with specific persons and new groups of people, and by his coming into contact with new ways of thinking.

1.1 Amsterdam: 1897–1900

Lutz attended secondary school in The Hague for three years, after which he enrolled in the business college in Amsterdam in 1897, with the intention of pursuing a career in the family business. While in Amsterdam, he lived with his uncle Jeremias Bromberg, who was married to Nathan's sister Jeanette, and who owned a retail business on Keizersgracht 123,[3] where he sold merchandise on the installment plan. Jeremias and Jeanette had one son, Richard,

3. Het Huis met de Hoofden [The House with the Heads], where the conservatory was later housed.

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who had been born in 1886 in Aachen, and who was then studying medicine and law in Amsterdam.[4] He and Lutz spent a great deal of time together. Lutz also had regular contact with his oldest brother, Ernst, who had also moved to Amsterdam during 1897. At that time, many German students were living in the city, and many young German men were serving as apprentices in businesses and factories, so there were also several local German organizations. Ernst attended some of their meetings, but it is not clear whether he and Lutz were actually members of any of these organizations.[5]

It is certain, however, that in Amsterdam, Lutz came in contact with other lifestyles and other ways of thinking than those with which he had grown up at home. The university circles of the time vehemently discussed the materialistic ideas of the philosopher Büchner, whose book *Kraft und Stoff* [Force and Matter] was quite popular.[6] Later Ernst would take all of this with a grain of salt, writing that they had then gone through their youthful materialistic phase.[7] Lutz too read Büchner's book, and it left him confused: it shook his image of God. In 1925, Lutz himself wrote that he had an intimate relationship with God, in prayer and in conscience, until he was about thirteen years old. During those years, God had been a fatherly figure for him, who rewarded and punished, who offered help and gave warnings. He characterized this youthful relationship

4. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 34; Documentation, R. Appeljan-Bromberg, Apeldoorn.

5. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 34–35.

6. F. K. C. L. Büchner (1824–1899), German philosopher, *Kraft und Stoff* [Force and Matter], 1855, 21st printing, 1904, Dutch translation 1877, 3rd printing, 1889. This was Büchner's most important work, and it enjoyed a great deal of influence, especially among free-thinkers. The book was translated into many languages and was often reprinted. A series of articles by J. van den Ende appeared in the periodical *De Dageraad* during 1893–1894, discussing Büchner's ideas. *Grote Winkler Prins*, vol. 4 (Amsterdam/Brussels, 1971), 651–52.

7. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 44.

with God as being submissive, not really based on love. Büchner's vision toppeled this underlying image of God; for Büchner, life was directed by the forces of nature.[8] According to Ernst, Lutz rebelled against these materialistic ideas quite passionately, characterizing him as being someone who was already "somewhat mystically gifted" while he was still young.[9] According to Lutz himself, these influences drove him into a crisis, leading to further study of materialistic literature and authors who criticized (Christian and Jewish) religion from philosophical and historical standpoints, so that he in turn, armed with that knowledge, could counter his fellow students and refute their ideas about the human person and the world. His attitude toward life took a turn toward hedonism, which he would later characterize as "enjoy as much as you can, and see that you don't get into any conflicts."[10] According to Ernst, though, Lutz always did remain more spiritually oriented than he would later portray himself; but the question is whether Ernst was able to fathom the depths of the crisis which Lutz was experiencing during those years. At the same time, though, we get the impression that Lutz himself, when looking back, tended to describe the process which changed his life as being more radical than it really was.[11]

1.2 Brussels: 1900–1901

In 1900, Lutz successfully completed his studies at the business college. His father then sent him to Brussels, where he became an apprentice in the ready-to-wear business owned by Benjamin Wolff,

8. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 30–31.
9. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 44.
10. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 31.
11. In (autobiographical) accounts of a conversion, it is rather common for a long process to be concentrated into one special experience, cf. J. Fontijn, "Keerpunten in een leven. Over radicale bekeringen en plotselinge inzichten," in *Biografie Bulletin* (2001), 97–106.

a relative of Nathan Loeb on his mother's side.[12] Nathan had similar paths in mind for all three of his sons, Ernst, Lutz, and Paul. After completing their schooling, they were apprenticed to a ready-to-wear business owned by a relative or an acquaintance so they could learn that business. Then, with experience gained elsewhere, they would be ready to go to work in the family business. During the course of their training, the young men increasingly learned to stand on their own feet. In Amsterdam, Lutz was still assured of the care provided by his aunt and uncle. In Brussels, however, he was no longer housed with family; rather, he lived in a boardinghouse named Dautzenberg,[13] where he came in contact with several French mining engineers who were staying there as well. While in Brussels, he was also introduced to socialistic ideas: he attended meetings of social democrats and workers' meetings[14] and studied the classical socialist authors. At a certain point, Marx's ideas about capitalism and business profits led to his developing a fundamental aversion to his family's economic activities and their middle-class way of life.

In Brussels, Lutz also came in contact with expressions of Roman Catholicism. For the first time in his life he saw a procession in the

12. Schulte, *Dokumentation*, 50–53. Janet Bernd Isenberg, *The Wolff Family of Muenstereifel*, extensive family tree research for the family, manuscript, 1998, 30ff., treats Benjamin Wolff and his descendants. This Benjamin Wolff was born in 1828 in Münstereifel and died in 1914 in Cologne. He was married to Elisabeth Simon (1833–1858) and, after her death, to Karoline Loewenstein (1836–1906). The question is whether this is the Benjamin Wolff that we have in mind. According to Schulte, Benjamin Wolff left Euskirchen in 1897 to go to Brussels to begin a textile business there. The Wolffs in Euskirchen were possibly related to those in nearby Münstereifel, but such research would go too far afield for our subject matter. E. Loeb states that, in the beginning, his father Nathan had regular contact with Benjamin Wolff and travelled to Brussels: E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 9, 44.

13. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 44.

14. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 31.

streets, observing it with the anticlerical prejudices which could also be found in Jewish circles:

> Men with candles were leading the procession. "How much money must the church be paying them," I asked myself, "to get them to humiliate themselves like that?" The thought never occurred to me that these men were sincerely paying homage. The only thing I saw was people kneeling before priests in full regalia: it really had to be either the well-known Roman stupidity (cultivated by the priests) or else hypocrisy which could get these people to participate in such ostentation.[15]

Lutz also visited several church buildings in Brussels. Their artistic value escaped him, since the arts had not yet received any attention in his personal formation. But he did begin to take an interest in the doctrinal content of Catholicism. According to Egbert Beekman, who would later become his teacher and friend, Lutz attended a series of Lenten sermons in a monastery in Brussels, recording the content in shorthand and then going back to his room in the boardinghouse to study it.[16] His attitude toward Catholicism, however, remained ambivalent. As time went on, he could not find any real satisfaction in socialism's materialistic vision of life, but in those years there was no real alternative available. It is clear, however, that the short period of time spent in Brussels did have a great influence on the direction Lutz's life would take, as well as on his later ideas and attitude toward life. The crisis in Amsterdam had shaken his youthful way of looking at the world. In Brussels, this crisis was followed by an introduction to divergent philosophies of life, visions of society, and social milieus which he had not known at home. It was a time

15. Ibid.

16. Ako file 429, letter of condolence from E. Beekman to J. Löb-van Gelder, April 1935.

of growing up, becoming an adult, and moving away from the world of his parents.

1.3 Back in The Hague: 1901–1903

After about a year, Lutz returned to The Hague. His apprenticeship in Brussels had apparently convinced Nathan that Lutz was now ready to go to work, either in The Hague or in one of the other branches of the family business. Lutz's return to the Netherlands was also partly inspired by a call-up for military service in the Dutch army.[17] Just a year earlier, he had been exempted from service in the German army: at the time, he was still a German citizen since, according to legislation then in force, Nathan's naturalization could not be extended to his two sons, Ernst and Lutz, who had been born in Germany.[18] In 1901, Lutz was also exempted from military service in the Netherlands for reasons of health, which were not further elaborated.[19]

> When he had returned from Brussels, father took him into the business and entrusted him with everything: keys, cash, administration, etc. After a while, though, Lutz explained that he couldn't associate himself with the business as a matter of principle. He had socialistic ideas about profits which didn't square with what he was doing in practice, and he asked Papa to allow him to go back to school.[20]

17. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 31.

18. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, Geburtsschein L. Löb, Euskirchen, 1900. Lutz Löb became a naturalized Dutch citizen in 1910. This was required due to his appointment as a civil servant.

19. Rijksarchief Noord-Holland, Bescheiden bij Huwelijksakte gemeente Naarden, 31 Oktober 1907 [Provincial Archives of North Holland, Documentation filed with the certificate of marriage in the municipality of Naarden, October 31, 1907]. These mention the exemption from military service for reasons of health.

20. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 44.

For Lutz's brother Ernst, it was clear that Lutz didn't have any affinity at all for business administration the way their father practiced it. But according to Lutz's youngest sister, Thea, there was more to the story: Lutz was in no way at all qualified to be a salesman or a merchant. Once when he was selling a coat to a customer who wanted the latest style, he told her that the only thing he had to offer was a coat from the previous year: obviously, she left and went to another store.

Later, Lutz remembered having a conversation with his father about their opposing visions of operating a business, during which he made it clear that he did not want to follow the career that had been laid out for him in the family business. Instead, he would rather further his education. Nathan honored his request,[21] and Lutz became the first one in the Loeb family not to go into the family business, but to choose academic studies instead. In doing so, he opened the way for several of his younger brothers and sisters as well.

Lutz had no interest in studying law or medicine, but he was attracted to technology and the natural sciences. Getting to know the mining engineers in the boardinghouse in Brussels had sparked his interest in mining, so he looked into the possibility of studying at the Polytechnic School in Delft. In order to be admitted, he would have to pass entrance examinations equivalent to the fifth year of science at the secondary school level. The director of the school referred him to Egbert Beekman, himself a student, who was also an orientation counselor for new students. He would be able to help Lutz prepare for the entrance examinations.

Egbert Beekman[22] was born in The Hague in 1883, and so was slightly younger than Lutz. In 1905 he completed his studies in

21. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 31.

22. From notes made by Sr. Olga Beekman, daughter of Egbert Beekman, in Oosterhout, the Netherlands, for a conversation with P. Steffen on September 8, 1998; notes taken during that conversation by P. Steffen, September 8, 1998; documentation from the Beekman family; *Alphabetische Naamlijst*

mining engineering at the school in Delft, which in the meantime had been elevated to the status of an Institute of Technology. A year later he was awarded his PhD.[23] He was an active member of Sanctus Virgilius, Delft's Roman Catholic student association, which had been founded in 1898 as a parallel to the general student association, in order to offer Catholic students opportunities for formation. Beekman dated a Protestant girl who converted to Catholicism, partly due to his influence.[24]

[Alphabetical List of Names] of engineers who received a diploma from the Delft Royal Academy, of engineers and technologists who received a diploma from the Delft Polytechnic School and from the Delft Institute of Technology, 1846–1908 [the school was known as the Delft Royal Academy from 1842–1864, as the Delft Polytechnic School from 1864–1905, and as the Delft Institute of Technology from 1905–1986. It is currently known as the Delft University of Technology], Library of the Delft University of Technology; 1934 List of Names of engineers and technologists, Library of the Delft University of Technology.

23. E. H. M. Beekman, *Geschiedenis der systematische mineralogie* (The Hague, 1906) [The History of systematic mineralogy], academic dissertation, Delft. Due to poor health (deafness), he was unable to do the actual work of a mining engineer, but since he had a special talent for teaching and scientific research, he became a mathematics teacher at the secondary school in Delft. He wrote several textbooks for mathematics and physics. Later, a younger brother also studied at the Delft Institute of Technology and then entered a Benedictine monastery. The Beekman brothers came from a Catholic milieu. Egbert Beekman developed an apologetic vision of society, based on the teachings of the Catholic faith, in which technology, science, and economy dominated to such an extent that cultural and spiritual values were in danger of being reduced to oblivion. He was a fervent adversary of capitalism, especially detesting interest being paid on capital. After many years of preparation, he collected his thoughts in E. H. M. Beekman, *God, Mensch, Techniek, wetenschap* [God, the Human Person, Technology, Science] (Rotterdam, 1931).

24. In 1907 he would marry her, with Lutz and Jenny serving as witnesses. From this, it can be concluded that he and Lutz had become friends in the meantime.

Lutz first visited Egbert Beekman in Delft sometime during 1901, to discuss the possibility of Egbert becoming Lutz's tutor. This is how Lutz remembered that first meeting:

> The first time I visited his home, I had to wait in the front room, where I noticed a copy of Van der Hagen's "Waar is de Kerk van Christus" [Where is Christ's Church] lying on the table, along with other prizes awarded to the best students in Roman Catholic schools. Absentmindedly, but also with a certain disgust, I picked up that booklet and flipped through the pages. Actually I was a bit surprised to find such balanced argumentation being used, and I really couldn't offer a good refutation to all the assertions being made. When the young man [Egbert Beekman] entered the room, I had already put down the booklet. I didn't say anything about it at the time, but months later, after we had gotten to know each other better, I asked him if I could borrow that booklet.[25]

This quotation allows one to conclude that Beekman accepted Lutz's request to become his tutor. It also reveals that Lutz still had

25. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 32. The book he is referring to is *Waar is de Kerk van Christus?* [Where is Christ's Church] by M. van der Hagen, SJ (Amsterdam, 1895). This is how the author describes the purpose of this apologetic booklet written for Catholics and believing Protestants: "I would like to make it possible for the former, the Catholics, not only to offer a simple and clear justification of their faith, but also to enable them, clearly and solidly, to resolve the objections usually advanced by those who think differently." The booklet was intended to prove that the complete truth of faith could only be found in the Roman Catholic Church. Martinus van der Hagen (1847–1912) entered the Society of Jesus as a secular priest in 1878. He worked in the Saint Theresia parish in The Hague, beginning as associate pastor in 1883, and then as pastor from 1891 through 1909. From 1909 through 1912, he served as associate pastor in the Saint Ignatius Church in Rotterdam.

an ambivalent attitude toward Catholicism. Once they had gotten to know each other better, Beekman responded to Lutz's interest in Catholicism by providing him with Roman Catholic apologetic literature.[26] Lutz traveled regularly from The Hague to Delft to meet with Beekman and receive advice regarding his self-education. With Beekman's help, Lutz passed the entrance examinations for secondary school science in 1903 and was subsequently admitted as a student in the Polytechnic School. By then he was almost twenty-two years old, older than most of the other freshman students. At first he continued to live at home with his parents in The Hague; later he did have his own address,[27] but he had no personal income: his parents paid for his education and all his living expenses.

1.4 Delft: 1903–1907

Lutz studied mining engineering and mineralogy at the polytechnic school. In order to become a mining engineer, he not only had to complete the theoretical courses and laboratory work, but he also had to acquire some practical experience working at various mining locations. He did this during the summer months: in 1904 he received on-the-job training with a mining company, Bergwerk

26. It isn't clear whether Beekman took the initiative to provide Lutz with this literature, or whether Lutz himself requested it. We're leaving the question open as to whether the booklet by Fr. Van der Hagen was really lying on Beekman's table when Lutz visited him the first time. Lutz mentions a great many books when relating the story of his conversion, probably with the intention of recommending them to the 1925 reader, as well as to show that he himself was well read.

27. According to A. Juten, this was: "O. D. aan het Westeinde" [Old Delft on Westeinde]. O. D. was an abbreviation for "Oude Delft." Juten possibly meant the west side of Oude Delft, or the west end of Oude Delft. The student association also had its residence at Oude Delft 18. See Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb. A. Juten, Memories of the engineer Mr. Löb, compiled July 24, 1962, for P. van Broekhoven-Löb.

Gesellschaft in Dahlbusch near Gelsenkirchen-Rotthausen.[28] Lutz was an industrious student and did well in his classes. He could afford to immerse himself in philosophical and religious books as well. Through some of his student friends, he came in contact with the Catholic student association, Sanctus Virgilius, to which Egbert Beekman also belonged.[29]

Around 1900, only about fifty of the students studying in Delft came from Catholic homes. The Delft school was considered to be "red," having socialist sympathies. Mechanical engineering students, more than any of the other students, were exposed to the working conditions of educated and uneducated workers during their on-the-job training programs in the factories. This led a number of them to a certain sympathy for socialist ideas. Against such a background, the establishment of a Catholic student association was intended to provide a counterbalance. Catholic students needed to be taught within the context of their own social philosophy, based on fundamental Catholic principles—that was the motivation of the founders. The charter of 1898 states that the purpose of the association was to bring Catholic students together to support each other "in training for the battle against a theism which placed Matter above Everything, for the battle against the modern World organization." Fr. E. Lauwerens, SJ, from the Saint Theresia parish in The Hague, was their first spiritual advisor, but within a very short time he had to step down due to aftereffects of a traffic accident. His successor was a fellow Jesuit, Herman J. Ermann. The spiritual advisor played a pivotal role in the association's administration and activities, giving lectures and serving as a go-between for recruiting other speakers. Fr. Ermann lectured

28. Ako file 446, Certificate from Bergwerk Gesellschaft in Dahlbusch, August 10, 1904.

29. F. de Jong, H. Festen, *Virgiel Vereeuwigd. 1898–1998. 100 Jaar katholieke studentenvereniging Sanctus Virgilius* (Delft, 1998). See also Th. Reul, "Het ontstaan der katholieke studentenverenigingen in Nederland, ± 1870 – ± 1900," *Jaarboek van het Katholiek Documentatie Centrum* 4 (1974): 10–42.

regularly at the meetings of the association, treating widely varying topics such as modern pessimism, the views of Friedrich Nietzsche, Reformed Catholicism, women's issues, labor unions, and socialism. He also lectured on moral subjects such as the death penalty, suicide, possessions, and wealth. As the number of Catholic students in Delft increased, the size of the association increased proportionately, so that by 1905 there were more than a hundred members. Of the eighteen new members in 1905, four were women students.

During the first years of the association, their primary activity was providing lectures: a speaker every other week from September through mid-May. Obviously, the participation of the members varied with the topic and the speaker. For philosophical subjects, well-known seminary teachers were regularly invited and, after 1905, university professors who had been designated by the Radboud Foundation to provide for the teaching of Catholic doctrine at the college and university level. Professor J. Th. Beijsens (1864–1945), who was also well known outside Catholic circles, appeared regularly on the list of speakers for Sanctus Virgilius. He taught at the major seminary in Warmond and, as of 1909, was designated as Extraordinary Professor for the Radboud Foundation in Utrecht.[30]

Lutz attended Beijsens's lectures, just as he also attended lectures given by Professor Bolland[31] of Leyden for the general student association, but he did not understand very much of the argumentation used in their presentations. He went to the library to look up books about the topics they had treated, but he did not get very far with them either.[32]

The administration of Sanctus Virgilius also encouraged its own members to give lectures, but without much success. Those who

30. L. Rogier, *Katholieke Herleving* [Catholic Revival] (The Hague, 1956), 489, 495; J. de Kok, *Drie eeuwen Westeuropese kerkgeschiedenis* [Three Centuries of Western European Church History] (Hilversum, 1979), 128–29.

31. W. Otterspeer, *Bolland. Een biografie* (Amsterdam, 1996).

32. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 33.

took the initiative were primarily those who held administrative positions, including Louis Feber, Jos Juten, and Jos Schmutzer. Egbert Beekman was active in the association, and he too gave several lectures. In addition to the bi-weekly lectures, the association also organized meetings for members several times a year. According to the *Jaarboeken* [yearbooks], Lutz Löb was present as a guest at one of these official meetings for members, namely on Wednesday, December 2, 1903.[33] That would have been during the first semester of his studies. No record was kept of those who attended the meetings when lectures were given, but presumably Lutz attended several of these as well, probably at the recommendation of his tutor/friend Egbert Beekman and his fellow students Jos Juten, Louis Feber, and George Wiessing, who were also active in the association. Since Lutz himself wasn't Catholic, he could not become a member of the association, but the range of thought to which he was exposed during such conferences, as well as his contacts with other members of the association, would have strongly influenced his own spiritual journey. In a sense, Beekman and his fellow students provided Lutz with a Catholic milieu in which, as time went by, he began to feel at home. After a while, Louis Feber, Jos Juten, and George Wiessing became part of Lutz's circle of friends. He would keep in touch with them, and later turn to them for help when looking for a new job.

Louis Jean Marie Feber (1885–1964) was born in Bergen op Zoom.[34] He studied civil engineering and was an active member

33. Archives of the Roman Catholic Student Association *Sanctus Virgilius*, Delft University of Technology: *Jaarboeken Sanctus Virgilius,* 1900–1910.

34. G. Pannekoek, "Al pratende met Ir. L. J. M. Feber" [While chatting with the engineer Mr. L. J. M. Feber], *Den Gulden Winckel* 24, no. 4 (April 20, 1925): 73–76; J. Nieuwenhuis, "L. J. M. Feber," in: *'s-Gravenhage. Maandblad der gemeente 's-Gravenhage* 10/3 (March 10, 1955), 1–6; M. van Doorn, ed., De Haagse Gemeenteraad, 1816–1941. Biografische gegevens van haar leden [The City Council of The Hague, 1816–1941: Biographical sketches of the members] (The Hague, 1985), 32–33; A. van Oirschot (ed.), *Encyclopedie van Noord-Brabant*, volume 1 (Baarn, 1985), 400, s.v. "Feber."

of the administrative council of the Catholic student association. He also let his voice be heard at the national level of Catholic student associations. After graduating in 1908, he got a job as a civil engineer in Java in the Dutch East Indies, where his father had served in the KNIL (the Royal Dutch East Indies Army). In 1920 he returned to the Netherlands, where he entered politics and served for many years as a member of the house of representatives for the Roman Catholic State Party (RKSP), as well as a member of the city council and as an alderman in The Hague. He wrote in his free time.[35]

Anton Jos L. Juten[36] (1885–1970) also came from Bergen op Zoom and went to Delft as a student in 1904, where he joined Sanctus Virgilius and became an active member of its administrative body. He also became Lutz Löb's friend, a friendship which would be renewed and continued many years after they had completed their studies, when both of them would be living and working in Bergen

35. As a student he wrote articles and plays. While he was in the Dutch East Indies, he was a correspondent for the Catholic newspaper, *De Maasbode*. Several of his published works dealt with his experiences in the Dutch East Indies, in which he contrasted the Eastern culture with the (in his eyes) lack of culture in the West after World War I. Several plays based on Bible stories (*Holofernes* and *David*) were once again enacted in 1924 under the title *Israel*. He wrote essays on the authors Huysmans and Frederik van Eeden (and his conversion to Roman Catholicism). Some of his published works appeared in the then innovative literary magazine *Van Onzen Tijd* [From Our Time], placing him among the generation of young writers who wanted to renew "Roman Catholic literature."

36. A. van Oirschot, *Encyclopedie van Noord-Brabant* (Baarn, 1985), vol. 2, p. 284, s.v. Juten, gebroeders [Juten brothers]; vol. 1, p. 57, s.v. Avondster (katholiek volksdagblad van Nederland) [Evening Star (the people's daily Catholic newspaper in the Netherlands)]; *Dagblad De Stem*, February 3, 1970, In memoriam ir. A. Juten; *Dagblad De Stem*, October 28, 1972, Ir. A. Juten: vechter met de pen [Engineer A. Juten: Warrior with a Pen]. Documentation, P. van Broekhoeven-Löb, obituary card A. Juten (February 2, 1970) and obituary card A. Juten-van As (September 1, 1991).

op Zoom. Juten remembered accompanying other Catholic students when they went to visit Lutz,

> who was living alone in O. D. aan het Westeinde [Old Delft on Westeinde]. As one of the youngest, I regarded myself as being very small and humble in their company, listening to their conversations, more than really having anything to contribute. The engineer Mr. Löb was modest and retiring, and the older ones who were present groped uncertainly for words as they discussed all sorts of faith issues which spontaneously came up. I only remember how simple and humble Löb was, not drawing any attention at all to himself.[37]

One of the "older ones" whom Juten mentioned was probably George Ephraim Jacob Wiessing (1884–1975).[38] He had been born in Amsterdam, the youngest in a family with six children, of parents who had returned earlier from the Dutch East Indies, where his father had worked as a teacher. In 1885, the family returned to the Dutch East Indies, but without the young George, who was left with an aunt in Overasselt. In 1891, the family visited the Netherlands on vacation, and when they went back to the Dutch East Indies in 1893, George was allowed to go with them. He began his secondary education in Amsterdam in 1899 and then went on to Delft to study mining engineering and geology. He left for Borneo in 1909 to do geological research, and, several years later, he went on to Bolivia. In 1914 he responded to the mobilization call and returned to the Netherlands. After his demobilization in 1916, he received permission to go to Suriname to work. In 1919 he went back to Bolivia, where he married a Bolivian woman, Mariposa Oropesa. In 1928

37. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb. A. J. L. Juten, Memories of the engineer Mr. Löb, letter dated July 24, 1962. We have already mentioned the vagueness of the combination "Oude Delft" and "Westeinde."

38. Documentation by the Wiessing family: F. Wiessing, Chronicle of the Wiessing-van den Eekhout family, manuscript, Zevenaar, 1984.

he returned to the Netherlands for good with his wife, their four daughters, and their son, and became a teacher at the secondary school in Leyden. Later he and his family moved to Arnhem, where George Wiessing renewed his contacts with Lutz, Jenny, and their children, and once again became more interested in religious matters.

Another important person during Lutz's school years was the Jesuit Herman Ermann,[39] who was the spiritual advisor of the Catholic student association (as mentioned above). Lutz would have become acquainted with him during the meetings of the association.

2. How Lutz Met Jenny, and Their Interest in the Catholic Faith

In the writings which Lutz and Jenny left behind, there is no indication of exactly when and where they first came in contact with each other.

> In the meantime, I had passed my first exams and had gone on to get some on-the-job training during the long vacation months, as was customary in our department. It was about this time that I met my future wife.[40]

39. Provincial Archieves of the Dutch Jesuits, Nijmegen, *Mededeelingen voor de Nederlandse Provincie van SJ*, 4e deel nr. 3, juni 1931, 29–31 [*Announcements for the Dutch Province of the Society of Jesus* 4, no. 3 (June 1931): 29–31]. Herman Ermann was born in Utrecht in 1851. After being ordained to the priesthood, he worked briefly as a teacher in Rotterdam, where he was associated with the parish staffed by the Jesuits. He was one of the founders of the Apologetic Association Petrus Canisius and a member of the diocesan organization "Sobrietas," which opposed drinking alcoholic beverages. In 1921 he was involved with the foundation of the Geert Groote Society. He was an advocate of popularized apologetics and practiced it in numerous articles and lectures. He died in 1931. See also Rogier, *Katholieke herleving* [Catholic Revival], 496.

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Lutz was probably referring to his apprenticeship in Dahlbusch in 1904. Later, Jenny related that she had met her future husband while she was a music student in Amsterdam.[41] Lutz's older brother, Ernst, remembered Lutz meeting Jenny van Gelder during his student days, through the Loeb family in Utrecht,[42] but he doesn't mention how he came to hear about their uncle Leopold Loeb introducing Lutz and Jenny to each other in Utrecht, nor does he mention what kind of relationship Jenny had with the family. By "student days," Ernst probably meant the period of time when Lutz was in Delft; that would mean that Lutz and Jenny met in 1903 or 1904. By 1904, their dating had become serious—that's when Lutz introduced Jenny to his parents in The Hague—but it seems that their relationship didn't go over too well there. His brother Ernst recounts that during his years as a student, Lutz was "dependant on Papa, by the very nature of things, and my parents had serious objections to Lutz's engagement with Jenny, for reasons which have always remained unknown to me."[43]

Several motivations played a role in this objection. In spite of their business success and increasing prosperity, Lutz's parents led a life which was simple, hard working, and relatively frugal. That was not the case with the Van Gelder family: various members of that family led a rather luxurious life, as their expensive clothing, among other things, revealed. Two daughters, Jenny and Heintje, studied music in Amsterdam, and the other daughter, Elisabeth, was an artist/painter. In the eyes of Lutz's mother, Lina, this was certainly not an appropriate lifestyle for her son—she probably had her eye on other marriage candidates for him. Nonetheless, Lutz and Jenny got engaged.

According to Lutz, Jenny "placed a great deal of importance on political questions at the time, and she was rather liberal in her

41. Akh F Löb 2. J. Löb-van Gelder, *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [My Journey to Christ], 2.

42. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 53.

43. Ibid.

views. In her youthful enthusiasm, she campaigned for her ideas within her circle of fellow students."[44] Lutz didn't agree with her views, and, during their discussions, he made use of the knowledge he had gained from studying Catholic writers who treated ethics and social organization. During one of these discussions, Jenny asked him, "Well, then, are you Roman Catholic?" That question gave Lutz quite a shock—it seems he hadn't realized that he had been proposing Catholic ideas. On the one hand, he was of the opinion that he had to accept the practical consequences of his convictions, but on the other hand, he felt a strong resistance to becoming Catholic.

Jenny approached her reflections on their conversation from another perspective. At a certain point, Lutz told her that he felt very much inclined to convert to Catholicism, and he was able to convince her to take the same step, even though she objected at first. She feared the break with her family, and with her Jewish friends and acquaintances. She also despised the contempt with which many Catholics spoke about Jews—she felt united with her own people:

> How little they really knew, all of them who spoke about Jews like that—the Jewish people, their fidelity, their goodness, their support of each other, the intimate warmth of their family bonds—I was so proud of all these lovely attributes of my people! And how they passed judgment on all that![45]

It seems that Lutz was so fascinated by the teachings of the Catholic faith that such objections didn't really matter to him.[46] The couple got in touch with the spiritual advisor of the Catholic student association, Fr. Ermann, whom we have already mentioned. He gave them catechism instruction during the years 1906–1907 and

44. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 38.

45. Akh F Löb 2. J. Löb-van Gelder, *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [My Journey to Christ], 3.

46. Ibid., 2.

advised them not to rush things. It would be better for Lutz to finish his studies first, and to be "completely independent from a social standpoint."[47] That would be possible only after finding employment which would enable him to provide for his own living expenses. It seems that Lutz had told his parents little or nothing about his own spiritual journey and his growing interest in Catholicism. Silently, he was distancing himself from the values and norms, the way of life, and the contacts with which he had grown up during his youth.

In 1906, the so-called "Little Canisius Bible" appeared,[48] published by the Apologetic Association Petrus Canisius, which included a Dutch translation of the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. It was meant to be a people's edition and cost only a quarter. It is highly probable that Fr. Ermann, who was one of the founders of the apologetic association,[49] gave this little Bible to Lutz and Jenny to read. Later, Lutz would place a great deal of emphasis on it in his description of his conversion process: as a Jew, he recognized the Jewish roots of Christianity in that little Bible.[50]

3. Baptism and Marriage

It seems that Jenny was pregnant in mid-1907. Lutz and Jenny don't mention this in the reflections on their lives that each of them wrote, independent of each other. Lutz's brother Ernst suspected something, but didn't know any details. He wondered if the "premature pregnancy of my sister-in-law Jenny might not have been a 'mistake' that was really a preconceived plan, a way to go through with the marriage in spite of all opposition. That really doesn't seem

47. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 39.

48. Rogier, *Katholieke herleving* [Catholic Revival], 500.

49. Ibid., 496; J. Jacobs, *Nieuwe visies op een oud visioen. Een portret van de Sint Willibrord Vereniging, 1948–1998* [New Ways of Looking at an Old Vision: A Portrait of the Saint Willibrord Association, 1948–1998] (Tilburg, 1998), 3–12.

50. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], 33.

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improbable to me, for Lutz wasn't a man who did something without thinking it through first."[51] If Ernst is right about this, then that could explain the absence of Lutz's parents at the wedding ceremony. Perhaps it was not so much the fact that Jenny was pregnant that affronted them as the knowledge that they were confronted with an accomplished fact and were, so to speak, forced to give their approval to the marriage.

Jenny's pregnancy probably also played a role in Fr. Ermann's decision to allow the couple to be baptized earlier than had originally been planned. He baptized them on October 2, 1907, in the Jesuit church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (Wijnhavenkerk) in Rotterdam. The widow Bahlman served as godmother and sponsor; no godfather is mentioned in the baptismal certificate. Lutz received the name Ludovicus Herman as his baptismal name (named after Fr. Herman Ermann), and Jenny, Johanna Maria. This baptism took place in secret.[52] Fr. Ermann also advised them to live as crypto-Catholics for the time being, which, according to Canon Law, would have required the bishop's permission, but Fr. Ermann probably never requested such episcopal approval.[53]

The date for the wedding ceremony in Naarden (October 31, 1907) had probably already been set before the couple was baptized. Lutz graduated from Delft as a mining engineer on October 11.[54] He

51. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 54.

52. Stichting Samenwerkende kerk- en onderwijs-secretariaten Rotterdam: Baptism Books from the parish of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (Wijnhavenkerk) in Rotterdam. Written memo addressed to P. Steffen, Rotterdam, February 25, 1998. In the Baptism Book, the word *Israël* was (later?) added with a purple pencil. This was probably meant to indicate that Lutz and Jenny were converted "Israelites."

53. In the archives of the archdiocese of Utrecht and the diocese of Haarlem, which would pertain to this case, there have been no documents found which refer to Lutz and Jenny and their permission to be baptized and to live as crypto-Catholics.

54. Ako file 446: Diploma, S. J. Vermaes, professor, Delft, October 11, 1907.

had a job at the college in the offing, but when the job description was delayed, he accepted a position in Rijswijk with the patent office of Mr. Blaupol ten Cate, attorney at law.[55] That made him independent of his parents in the material sense of the word—Lutz's way of following Fr. Ermann's advice to postpone the definitive choice for Catholicism until he was independent—but one does get the impression that he could hardly wait any longer. The important choices concerning baptism and marriage, which would be determinative for the rest of their lives, were sealed within one month's time.

This is how Lutz's brother, Ernst, described the civil marriage ceremony in his memoirs:

> The wedding ceremony took place in Naarden, a civil ceremony, not in the church, without any of us being present except myself, who served as witness, for I loved Lutz a whole lot and I didn't want to abandon him in these circumstances. At the time, I had also told Papa that I was going to do that.[56]

It seems that Nathan and Lina had finally relinquished their objection to the marriage, since they did give their permission for the marriage via a notarized statement, but apparently they could not go so far as to be personally present at the ceremony. There were several members of Jenny's family present, including her mother Sara, her brother Elias, and her uncle Barend van Gelder. One of the persons who signed the marriage certificate was the already mentioned Marcus Haalman, cantor of the Jewish community in

55. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter, L. Löb to the Department of Colonies regarding being sent to the Dutch East Indies as a teacher, December 22, 1921 (a copy of the letter which L. Löb himself made). In this letter, he lists the positions and appointments he had held and determines how many years' experience and service that would add up to, as a means of determining where he should be placed in the salary scale.

56. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 53.

Naarden.[57] It is possible that he was used as a cover-up, to give the impression that they were being married as Jews, but there was not any Jewish wedding ceremony (*chuppah*) following the civil marriage in Naarden, nor were there any of the usual accompanying festivities.

Immediately following the civil ceremony, and under pretext of departing on their honeymoon, Lutz and Jenny left for The Hague in travel clothes. There, in the evening of the same day, in the sacristy of the Jesuits' monastic church, they were married in the eyes of the church. Fr. Ermann presided at the ceremony. The decision to have a sober celebration in the privacy of the sacristy was partly due to the fact that Lutz and Jenny wanted to keep the ecclesiastical celebration secret, but doubtless also because of Jenny's pregnancy, which was probably already visible. Years later, Jenny entrusted a few memories of the ecclesiastical wedding ceremony to paper, with the macabre detail that, in that dark and chilly room, she was standing just a few meters from a coffin.[58]

As already mentioned, Lutz and Jenny followed Fr. Ermann's advice to live as crypto-Catholics for the time being, and certainly to leave their families in the dark as far as their conversion was concerned. Jenny had no trouble at all with this advice. It made it possible for her to avoid a break with her circle of Jewish acquaintances, which was still quite important for her at that time. It would be a few years before she would grow apart from her friends and acquaintances, and then it would be Jenny herself who would begin to feel more and more cut off, even though it did not mean that her family and friends actually excluded her. She was the one who felt different, since her ideas and views no longer fit in with the Jewish circles from which she had come.

57. Archief gemeente Naarden, Burgerlijke stand: Huwelijksakten 1907–1924 [Naarden City Archives, Civil Service Registers: Marriage Certificates 1907–1924]; Ako file 442, Lutz and Jenny's wedding booklet.

58. Akh F Löb 2. J. Löb-van Gelder, *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [My Journey to Christ].

On the occasion of her marriage to Lutz Löb, Jenny van Gelder was given a small book by her family with the inscription: *De Vijf Boeken van Mozes. Opnieuw in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S. I. Mulder, beëdigd translateur, tweede druk, met kerkelijke goedkeuring, te Amsterdam bij Belinfante & de Vita en Van Embden en Co, 5598 / 1838* [The Five Books of Moses. Newly translated into Dutch by S. I. Mulder, sworn translator, 2nd printing, with ecclesiastical approval, in Amsterdam by Belinfante & de Vita and Van Embden & Co, 5598 / 1838].[59] Pasted on the left inside cover was a small piece of paper on which was written, in Hebrew script as well as block letters: "Janet de dochter van Jehoeda van Gelder" [Janet, the daughter of Judah van Gelder]. That was referring to Jenny. Small pieces of paper were also pasted on the right inside cover, with the following notations in Hebrew script:

> For these things I weep, my eyes flow with tears[60] at the death of my dear father and teacher, Jehoeda, the son of David van Gelder, who passed on to the eternal world which is wholly good, at the end of the holy Sabbath on the 1st of Kislev,[61] Rosh Chodesh, the first day of the month, the day of the new moon, in the city of Naarden, and who was buried on the fourth day of that month in the year 667[62] in the city of Amersfoort. May his soul be bound in the bundle of the living.[63]

And under that was written:

59. This small book, which was referred to as the "Little Wedding Bible" within the family, could not be located for a long time. In 2001 it was found in Koningsoord Abbey and was returned to Mrs. P. van Broekhoven-Löb, who in turn gave it to P. Steffen.

60. Citing Lamentations 1:16.

61. November 17, 1906.

62. Noted as is customary on calendars, dropping the 5000. So 667 = 5667 in the Hebrew calendar = 1906.

63. Citing I Samuel 25:29, the classic final sentence on a Jewish headstone. The entire text from the headstone is included in the above text.

> For these things I weep, my eyes flow with tears at the death of my mother and my teacher, Sara, the daughter of Cohen Eliyahoe, surnamed De Leeuw. She died in the city of Utrecht on the day of the evening before the holy Sabbath on the 5th of Iyar[64] and was buried on Monday, the eighth day of that month[65] in the city of Amersfoort in the year 680.[66] May her soul be bound in the bundle of the living.

Below these text fragments, the following was added in Dutch:

> The anniversary commemorating my Father Z"L[67] is on the 1st of Kislev.

And in another handwriting:

> Died November 17, 1906, buried November 21 in Amersfoort.

And in the same way:

> The anniversary commemorating my Mother Z"L is on the 5th of Iyar.
>
> Died April 23, 1920, buried April 26 in Amersfoort.

It's not probable that Jenny could write Hebrew script and block letters. The text was probably written by the cantor and teacher, Marcus Haalman. Possibly one of Jenny's brothers had noted the anniversaries commemorating her father and mother. That little book had been published in 1838 and could have been a family heirloom. The fact

64. Friday evening, April 23.
65. April 26.
66. 1920.
67. Z"L is an abbreviation for the Hebrew words *Zichrono Livracha* meaning "of blessed memory."

that Jenny received it from her family is a sign, nonetheless, of a Jewish religious consciousness which they wanted to bequeath to her.

After their marriage, Lutz and Jenny lived in The Hague, on Copernicusstraat 124, registering under the family name "Löb." Between 1895 and 1907, Lutz had changed the spelling of his surname from "Loeb" to "Löb,"[68] which is how it is spelled on his birth certificate from Euskirchen. He was already using the name "Löb" at the Delft Institute of Technology; it is the name which appears on his diploma from 1907, and that is how his name is spelled on their marriage certificate. From the fact that he later consciously chose to distance himself from his family, one could presume that the choice to spell his name differently also had something to do with that separation, but there is no unequivocal evidence for this. For that matter, we have already encountered the spelling "Löb" on Jeanetta Kaufmann's death certificate in 1848: her son Abraham signed with "Löb," while his father Moises preferred to sign with "Leib."

After her baptism and marriage, Jenny continued to experience the break with her Jewish background as being quite difficult. She missed "that sparkling sense of humor, that delightful hospitality." She also suffered under the contempt and ignorance with which Catholics spoke about Jews. Later she would even write that this caused her so much pain that she "felt less and less attracted to Christians." Even more decisive was her proposition:

> For even though I'm a child of Jesus with all my heart and soul, I feel for my Jewish people, I'm still bound to my Jewish people, I will never deny my Jewish blood.[69]

68. Gemeentearchief Den Haag [Municipal Archives, The Hague]. Written memo addressed to P. Steffen, June 24, 1998: in the census records 1895–1913, the name Loeb was changed to Löb, with the notation: "changed according to birth certificate."

69. Akh F Löb 2. J. Löb-van Gelder, *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [My Journey to Christ], 4. Jenny wrote this around 1935, when anti-Semitism had become unambiguous. Presumably her aversion to the contemptuous way of speaking

Lutz too, in one of his later published works, would draw attention to the greatness of the Jewish people and the ignorance of that greatness among Catholics.[70] In that sense, he was proud to be a converted Jew: it was not without reason that he retained his Jewish name "Juda" (= Jehoedah) when signing the articles he would later write.

Weighing the Evidence

When and where Lutz and Jenny first met remains a bit unclear. It would have been around 1903–1904. At first glance, it is rather remarkable that they found each other: Lutz was rational and serious; Jenny, on the other hand, was artistic and more of a feeling person. In the course of the years, Lutz had freed himself from his parents' milieu and had gone his own way, against the wishes of his parents. Jenny had been allowed to choose her own way and had grown into an independent, emancipated woman. What bound them together was the fact that they both had made choices which were not representative of their families. Their common choices, which would be determinative for the rest of their lives, separated them even further from the milieu into which they had been born.

We have seen that Lutz made a spiritual journey, influenced in an important way by new environments, by acquaintances with ideas new to him, and especially by certain persons, including Egbert Beekman and Fr. Ermann. However, that does not really provide an answer to the question regarding what was driving him at the deepest level. He did not need a Christian conversion and a Catholic baptism as a "passport to the social order," which had often been a motive for Jews in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to bid fare-

---

about Jews, as well as her positive appreciation of her own self-awareness of being Jewish, had grown in the course of the years.

70. Juda (L. Löb), *Jood of niet? En zoo ja, dan . . . Een vraag stellen is haar half beantwoorden*. [Jewish or not? And if so, then. . . . Asking a question is already half of the answer.]

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well to their religion. In fact, there was no external pressure which brought Lutz to this choice. However, he did possess personality characteristics which a developmental psychological interpretation could link with conversion:[71] Lutz cut himself off from his father, from his father's way of doing business, and from his father's tolerant, adaptive attitude toward life. But as is so often the case, there were two sides to the relationship between Lutz and his father. His father gave him many opportunities and a great deal of freedom of choice, as well as plenty of time for his adolescence, including his studies in Amsterdam, his stay in Brussels, and his studies in Delft. It seems that Lutz had the tendency to ask philosophical questions and to become engrossed in spirituality—that had struck his older brother Ernst, since it was in contrast with his own pragmatic, businesslike attitude toward life.

Lutz was a "seeker"; he belonged to the group of converts who, in those days, were called "searching souls."[72] According to Luykx, these persons were primarily seeking certainty in a society which was changing rapidly. They were especially negative in their opinions regarding modern developments, and they longed (romantically) to return to a harmonious and clearly organized society. They saw the Catholic Church as the guardian of tradition and harmony. This latter was certainly true of Lutz, even though it is significant that he pursued a "modern" technological course of study which presupposed a different worldview from that which was traditionally Catholic. Lutz would continue the debate between technology and faith.

During the time he was studying in Amsterdam, Lutz turned his back on the then widespread, banal, materialistic way of thinking. He

71. See Luykx, "Bekering en wetenschap" [Conversion and Science], in Derks, et al., *Het licht gezien*. Luykx mentions particularly the relationship between conversion and adolescence, as postulated by William James.

72. Luykx, *Daar is nog poëzie, nog kleur, nog warmte. Katholieke bekeerlingen en moderniteit in Nederland 1880–1960* [There is still poetry, color, warmth: Catholic converts and modernity in the Netherlands, 1880–1960].

could not find an acceptable alternative in the Judaism he knew from home, and he identified even less with a hedonistic philosophy of life. His acquaintance with socialism during the time he was a student in Brussels did not provide answers to his questions either. In Brussels, however, and even though ridden with prejudices, he did become acquainted with the Catholic faith. He seemed to have discovered a foundation for his spiritual longings in Catholic doctrine, even though his feelings about the Catholic Church were ambivalent. Ultimately, he was searching for insight, and he pursued this search by studying and becoming familiar with Catholic thought. His ambivalent feelings developed into a radical choice for the Catholic faith, which was more than just a rational choice—motives of social conscience and aesthetics also played a role.

Later he would formulate the insight he gained as an apology for the determinative choice in his life: the true Jew has to arrive at the insight that Jesus is the Messiah and thus become a convert.[73] In that sense, he considered himself as remaining faithful to Judaism, as giving the Jewish religion a place in his life as the historical preliminary of Christianity. That was also the official Catholic doctrine, with which Lutz would certainly have become acquainted in the course of his studies and from his contacts with Egbert Beekman and Fr. Ermann.

Jenny indicated that her love for Lutz was decisive in her decision to become a convert.[74] Although Lutz encouraged her to read books about the teachings of the Catholic faith, there were other values in the Catholic Church which attracted her more: the aesthetics,

73. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], passim.

74. Cf. Luykx, *Daar is nog poëzie, nog kleur, nog warmte* [There is still poetry, color, warmth]. Luykx distinguishes a certain group of converts who became Catholic in order to get married. Initially, one could classify Jenny as belonging to this group, but with the understanding that she was not required to accept baptism, and that she herself played an active role in Lutz's conversion process. Jenny would quickly develop into a convert with deep inner convictions which she shared with others.

the art, the music, the well-ordered life. She held these motives in common with many converts of that period, especially those who were active in the arts.[75] She was, however, thoroughly aware of the consequences her conversion might have for her life—most of all, she feared a break with her family and friends—and that raised doubts in her mind. Lutz had an inner struggle as well, but for him it occurred at another level. His conversations with Jenny confronted him with the fact that he had already appropriated many Catholic views and attitudes, even though at the time he had no intention of becoming a convert.

One might ask why the journey to Catholicism, baptism, and ecclesiastical marriage had to take place in secret. Why couldn't Lutz and Jenny be honest with their families about it? Who or what were they afraid of? Why were they so careful to give the impression that they were maintaining the Jewish customs? Was that not the reason for having the Jewish cantor from Naarden serve as witness at their wedding?

Possibly Lutz had mentioned something about his spiritual journey at home, but had run into so much resistance or misunderstanding that he concluded it would be better simply to keep silent about his faith life. He had already made a number of determinative choices which deviated from the path his father had chosen for him, but his father had never dropped him. On the contrary, he had given him the opportunity to further his education. Lutz himself, however, probably did fear that his parents and other family members might drop him if he were to make his conversion public; the question is whether that fear was justified. In the descriptions left by Lutz's brothers and sisters, their father Nathan is portrayed as a broad-minded, tolerant man.[76] Indeed, the whole family is portrayed as not being particularly

75. Cf. Luykx, Bekering en wetenschap [Conversion and Science]; Luykx, *Daar is nog poëzie, nog kleur, nog warmte* [There is still poetry, color, warmth].

76. Thea Herzberg-Loeb, Brief aan Mosheh; E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 120d; Abel Herzberg, *Brief aan mijn kleindochter* [Letter to my granddaughter] (Amsterdam, 1997).

strict regarding their Jewish faith. The same is true for Jenny. There is little evidence to suppose that her mother, brothers, and sisters would have rejected her because of a public conversion. The fact that the Loeb family did object to a binding relationship between Lutz and Jenny was probably more influential in their decision not to reveal their choice of the Catholic faith to their families.

It could also be that Lutz and Jenny kept their conversion process secret primarily at the advice of Fr. Ermann: after their baptism and marriage, he was the one who advised them to live as crypto-Catholics. This also raises questions, however, since the conversion of Jews to Catholicism was exceptionally useful as propaganda for apologetics and missionary zeal.[77] But Fr. Ermann apparently did not want to use the public disclosure of Lutz and Jenny's baptism in this way. He wanted to proceed carefully and not offend anyone. Writings from that period witness to the fact that conversion efforts by the Christian churches were a sensitive issue for the Jewish community in general.[78] Fr. Ermann did advise the couple not to take the step toward becoming Catholic too quickly, basing his advice on a material motive: as long as Lutz was dependent on his parents, and not independent in the sense of earning his own living, his parents would be in a position to coerce him to abandon his conversion. That material motive was no longer valid once Lutz had graduated and had a job in sight. We get the impression that Lutz and Jenny deliberately resolved to marry quickly, against the wishes of Lutz's parents. The fact that Jenny was pregnant probably also led Fr. Ermann to decide to baptize the couple sooner than he had really

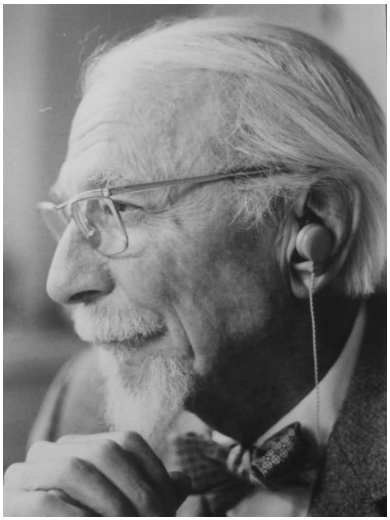
77. Cf. M. Poorthuis and Th. Salemink, "Bekering als wapen" [Conversion as Weapon], *Ter Herkenning,* 25, no. 4 (1997): 218–37; M. Poorthuis and Th. Salemink, *Op zoek naar de blauwe ruiter. Sophie van Leer, een leven tussen avant-garde, jodendom en christendom, 1892–1953* (Nijmegen, 2000).

78. Cf. J. Tal's polemic about Christian missionary zeal and Jews in: J. Tal, *Jood en Jodendom in Christen-omgeving* (Rotterdam, 1917); J. Tal, *Open Brief aan prof G.J.P.J. Bolland* (Amsterdam, 1921).

wished, and they did follow his advice to keep their conversion a secret by living as crypto-Catholics for the time being. This resulted in Lutz and Jenny being thrown back on themselves, receiving little support from others, support which would have consolidated their conversion and integrated it into their life as a whole. Later, both would mention this lack of external support as something they really missed; nonetheless, they remained firmly committed to their choice of faith.

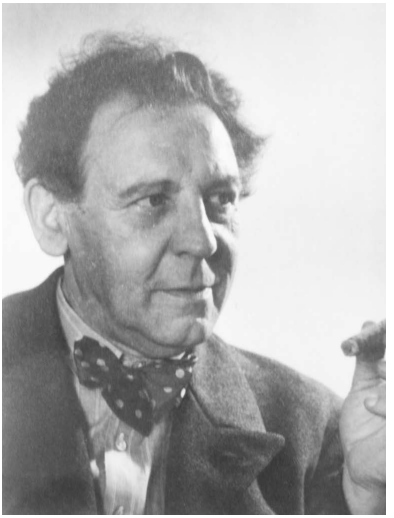
Louis Feber, engineer (1885–1964).

A. J. L. (Jos) Juten, engineer (1885–1970).

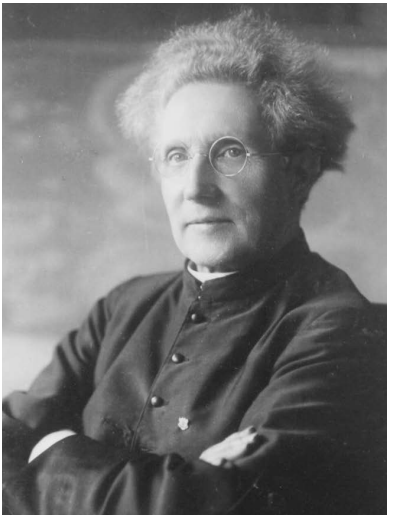


George Wiessing, engineer (1884–1975).

Three of Lutz's fellow students in Delft, who played an important role in his later life.



Dr. Egbert Beekman, engineer (1883–1950).



Fr. Herman Jozef Ermann, SJ, (1851–1931).

The Beekmans were married in Delft on August 17, 1907. Lutz and Jenny (third from the left, standing) served as witnesses of this marriage.

"Love is never extinguished." Jenny and Lutz during their engagement, 1906–1907.

№. 24

HUWELIJKS-VEREENIGING

op den 31 October 1907

tusschen Ludwig Löb, geb. te Enschede

EN

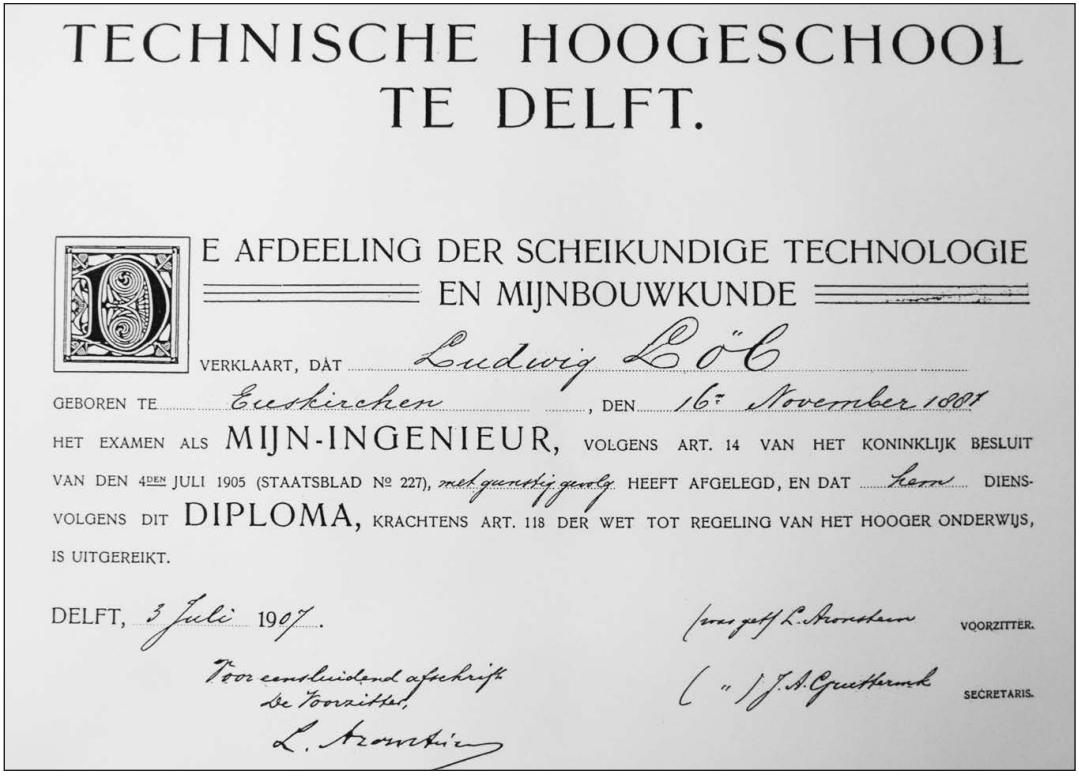
Jansje van Gelder geb. te Staarden

Naarden den 21 December 1907

NB. Dit bewijs bij geboorte of overlijden aan den Ambtenaar van den Burgerlijken Stand te vertoonen.

Amsterdam, Ipenbuur & van Seldam.
№. 114a.

Marriage certificate, Civil Service Registers.



TECHNISCHE HOOGESCHOOL
TE DELFT.

DE AFDEELING DER SCHEIKUNDIGE TECHNOLOGIE
EN MIJNBOUWKUNDE

VERKLAART, DAT Ludwig Löb

GEBOREN TE Eiserkirchen, DEN 16 November 1881

HET EXAMEN ALS MIJN-INGENIEUR, VOLGENS ART. 14 VAN HET KONINKLIJK BESLUIT VAN DEN 4DEN JULI 1905 (STAATSBLAD № 227), met gunstig gevolg HEEFT AFGELEGD, EN DAT hem DIENSVOLGENS DIT DIPLOMA, KRACHTENS ART. 118 DER WET TOT REGELING VAN HET HOOGER ONDERWIJS, IS UITGEREIKT.

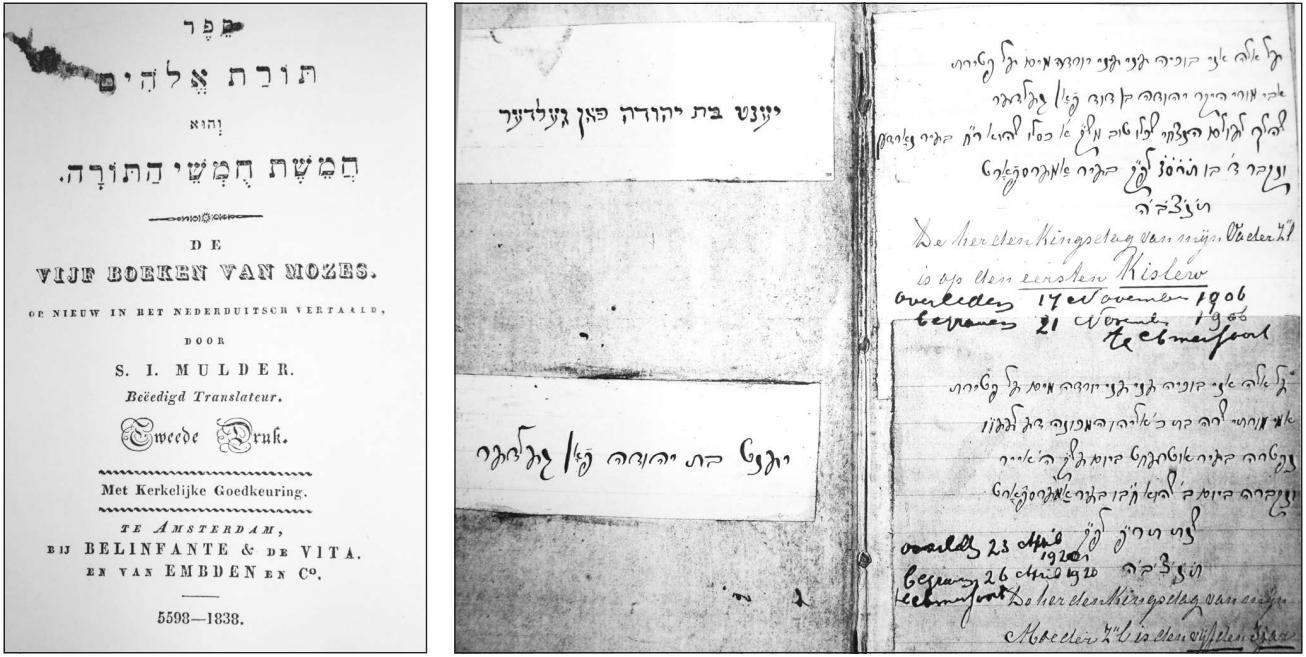
DELFT, 3 Juli 1907.

(was get.) L. Aronstein VOORZITTER.

(") J. A. Grutterink SECRETARIS.

Voor eensluidend afschrift
de Voorzitter,
L. Aronstein

Lutz Löb's diploma as mining engineer in 1907.



Jenny's "Little Wedding Bible," a gift from her mother in 1907. The photo on the left is the title page; the other two text fragments are from the inside cover.

3

THE YOUNG LÖB FAMILY

1907–1922

My Darling, once again I turn to you for comfort.
I'm so homesick for you and the children, for peace and quiet.
But I'm not sad and I'm not going to leave until it's allowed,
since I know Who it is that I'm serving here.
Here, my rosary is my strength as well as my relaxation,
along with my evening prayer and ejaculatory prayers to Our Lady of Good Counsel,
which you just now sent me, so opportunely.
That helps me keep going, time and time again, and even cheerfully.
. . . Bie is also here now, and I think he and the Norwegians
are stirring up trouble for me with Mr.
You really can't trust him, but I don't know how he can get us.
See, I keep bringing up work. There is so little else.
Recreation here means boozing, and you know how I feel about that.

That is what Lutz wrote to Jenny on July 25, 1921. He was in Green Harbour, on the island of Spitsbergen, where he was working from May until October of that year. Lutz used the abbreviation "Mr." to refer to Mr. Dresselhuijs, who had hired him for the job on Spitsbergen. The tone of the letter is somber—Lutz was lonely and the duties that kept him on Spitsbergen were not going as he would have liked. It is significant that Lutz regarded

this work as a divine commission. He found strength in his personal prayer, which enabled him to carry through in the face of a difficult situation. Jenny had sent him a holy card with prayers to Our Lady of Good Counsel, the patron saint of the parish in The Hague, to which the family belonged at that time. It is clear that Lutz felt isolated on Spitsbergen. Due to his own personal convictions, he did not take part in drinking bouts during his free time.

The letter raises a number of questions: How did Lutz end up on Spitsbergen and what was he doing there? What were the labor relations like up there? How had Lutz and Jenny grown in their faith since their baptism in 1907? And did they feel at home in the Catholic Church?

In this chapter, we'll continue the story of the lives of Lutz and Jenny Löb and their growing family during the years 1907–1922, a period of time which is subdivided into three unequal parts. From 1907 until 1910, Jenny and Lutz lived as crypto-Catholics in the Netherlands. From the end of 1910 until the end of 1919, they and their children were living on the island of Sumatra in the Dutch East Indies, where they could permit themselves to live an affluent lifestyle. In that missionary setting with limited church activities, they were able to confess their faith publicly. In 1920, they returned to the Netherlands after a long sea voyage, and during the short period between 1920 and 1922, Lutz's stay on Spitsbergen holds a central position.

1. The First Years of Married Life in the Netherlands

After they were married, Lutz and Jenny lived in The Hague, at Copernicusstraat 124. A few months later, they moved to Leeuwendaallaan 81 in Rijswijk,[1] where Lutz had started work on November 1 in the

1. Municipal Archives, The Hague, written memo addressed to P. Steffen, June 24, 1998.

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patent office of Mr. Blaupol ten Cate, attorney at law.[2] On March 8, 1908, Lutz became an assistant at the Delft Institute of Technology, an appointment which was effective until September 1 of that year.[3]

Jenny gave birth to her first child, Lina (they called her Lien), on March 3, 1908.[4] She was named after Lutz's mother, probably in an attempt to bring about a reconciliation with Lutz's parents. Lien Löb was baptized secretly; it isn't known who administered the baptism.[5]

In September 1908, the Löb family left for South Limburg, where Lutz had been offered a job by the Dutch State Mines, officially founded in 1902.[6] Initially he worked at the Wilhelmina Mine in Terwinselen (Schaesberg/Kerkrade). The construction of that shaft had begun in 1903, with the mine itself being in operation since 1906. Later, homes would be built near the mine, as well as a new church, but when the Löb family arrived, there was no question of any special housing being

2. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven: copy of a letter dated October 30, 1921, from L. Löb to Mr. J. Rottier, secretary of the Indische Voorlichtingscommissie [Education Commission for the Dutch East Indies] in Leeuwarden; copy of a letter dated December 22, 1921, addressed to the Department of Colonies in The Hague. In this letter, Lutz lists the positions and appointments he has held, as a means of determining where he should be placed in the salary scale as a teacher in the Dutch East Indies.

3. Ako file 446: his appointment as assistant at the Delft Institute of Technology, March 7, 1908, through August 31, 1908.

4. Gemeente Rijswijk, Burgerlijke Stand [Civil Service Registers of the municipality of Rijswijk]: excerpt from the census records 1908–26.

5. Archives of the parish of Sint Benedictus in Rijswijk: between February 27, 1908, and March 12, 1908, there are no baptisms recorded. Archives of the parish of Our Lady of Good Counsel in The Hague, excerpt from Pastor J. van Rooy's Baptismal Register for December 27, 1921: Lien would have been baptized on the day of her birth, March 3, 1908. According to Paula van Broekhoven-Löb, her sister Lien was baptized by the family doctor. There is no baptismal certificate for Lien Löb in the archives of Koningsoord Abbey, nor in the archives of Notre Dame de la Paix Abbey in Chimay.

6. Ako file 446: appointment to state mines, July 27, 1908; second appointment to another position, letter of appointment, November 12, 1908.

built for the mine workers, so the family lived in Schaesberg at an unknown address. In May 1908, construction of the shaft for the second state mine was begun, the Emma Mine in Hoensbroek-Treebeek.[7] Lutz became involved with this mine in August 1909. As a young mining engineer, he had to work his way up from a subordinate position, but his career was advancing steadily.[8] Production at the Emma Mine rapidly increased, with the population of Hoensbroek increasing proportionately: from 1550 inhabitants in 1909 to more than 8000 in 1920. Many of the civil servants who worked above ground had moved into the area from the more northernly regions of the Netherlands. From August through December 1909, the Löb family lived on Akerstraat in Hoensbroek, across the street from the main entrance to the mine.[9]

Their second child was born on September 25, 1909, in Hoensbroek: George, also called Joris. He was named after his godfather, George Wiessing, Lutz's friend and fellow student from his time in Delft. George Löb was baptized at home, once again in secret.[10] Lutz

7. C. Raedts, *De opkomst, de ontwikkeling en de neergang van de steenkolenmijnbouw in Limburg*, Assen, 1974; L. Kreukels, *Mijnarbeid: volgzaamheid en strijdbaarheid. Geschiedenis van de arbeidsverhoudingen in de Nederlandse steenkolenmijnen 1900–1940*, Assen/Maastricht, 1986, especially page 24 and following. See also http://www.citg.tudelft.nl/live/pagina.jsp?id=f15cfa0f-f1fc-4b4c-a2e1-c65c75208047&lang=en "Coal Mining in the Netherlands," from the web site of Delft University of Technology.

8. Ako file 446: certificates of appointment.

9. Archief Gemeente Heerlen, Bevolkingsregister gemeente Hoensbroek [Archives of the municipality of Heerlen, census records for the municipality of Hoensbroek].

10. Akh, Personal file, George Löb: no certificate of baptism present; Archives of the parish of Our Lady of Good Counsel in The Hague: excerpt from the baptismal register by Pastor J. van Rooy, December 27, 1921: "George would have been baptized on September 25, 1909."Van Rooy didn't mention who administered the baptism, nor where it occurred. According to a letter from Jenny, dated September 9, 1931, George had been baptized at home. She didn't mention who administered the baptism.

and Jenny were quite conscientious about following Fr. Ermann's advice to live as crypto-Catholics; they sought no contact with the local Catholic parish. As a matter of fact, the family kept pretty much to itself, since many of Lutz's colleagues were Protestant and that didn't facilitate natural, easy-going contacts.

George was circumcised according to Jewish law in a ceremony which took place in the home of Lutz's parents in The Hague.[11] Apparently Lutz and Jenny wanted to make it look as though they were living according to the prescripts of the Jewish religion, at least to their families. If they had not had their son circumcised, they would have had to explain that omission to the family. Even though they were now independent, at least in the material sense, and especially from Lutz's parents, it seems that they still did not dare to speak freely about their conversion. Most likely they were thoroughly aware of the tension which such an announcement would provoke within the family.

In spite of his good salary and his excellent prospects with the state mines, Lutz was looking for another job in the fall of 1909, possibly at Jenny's instigation. In Hoensbroek, she had no connections with any of the other families, and the secrecy surrounding their choice of faith left her with the feeling that they really did not belong anywhere.[12] Lutz applied to the Ministry of Colonies, asking to be sent to the Dutch East Indies as a mining engineer. This choice was partly inspired by the fact that several graduates of

11. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in Den Bosch, personal file Robert Löb, Br. Benjamin, letter from Pastor C. J. Oomen to the provincial dated September 13, 1926: "Grandfather and grandmother are still Jewish; George and Robert are circumcised, but the other sons are not." C. Oomen was pastor of the parish of the Holy Martyrs of Gorcum in Bergen op Zoom from 1919 through 1939. OFMCap is the abbreviation for the Capuchin branch of the Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans).

12. "As time went on, I began to feel like a pariah, so I really was happy when my husband accepted a position in the Dutch East Indies." Akh F Löb 2. J. Löb-van Gelder, *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [My Journey to Christ], 3.

the Delft Institute of Technology had moved to the East, including Lutz's fellow student Louis Feber, who had gone to Java earlier that year as a civil engineer.[13] The material prospects for Dutch civil servants in the colonies were quite favorable, which would certainly have been another important consideration for Lutz and Jenny, but it seems that their principal motive was their yearning for freedom to live their faith. They wanted to live as Catholics in all aspects of their life, and that would be possible only if they were out of sight of their families.

On January 29, 1910, Lutz received an honorable discharge from the state mines,[14] but before he could leave for the Dutch East Indies, he had to acquire a bit more practical experience. For this purpose, the Delft Institute of Technology had set up an apprenticeship program with trips to mining areas in northern France, Luxemburg, Silesia, and Bohemia.[15] Since Lutz still had his German nationality,[16] he also officially needed to become a citizen of the Netherlands. He was granted Dutch nationality on May 29, 1910.[17]

In December 1909, while Lutz was occupied with his apprenticeship travels, Jenny and her two children, Lien and George, went to live

13. Library of the Delft University of Technology, *De Vereniging van Delftsche ingenieurs* [The Association of Engineers from Delft], alphabetical list of names, 1908 and 1934.

14. Ako file 446: Honorable Discharge from the state mines, January 1, 1910; state mines certificate, January 10, 1920.

15. Ako file 446: Instructions for study trip, Delft Institute of Technology, March 25, 1910.

16. Archief gemeente Naarden, Burgerlijke stand: Huwelijksakten 1907–1924 [Archives of the municipality of Naarden, Civil Service Registers: marriage certificates 1907–1924]; Rijksarchief Haarlem [National Archives Haarlem]: addendum to the marriage certificate for Lutz Löb and Jenny van Gelder, October 31, 1907.

17. Ako file 446: Declaration by the mayor of The Hague regarding Dutch nationality, May 29, 1910.

with her family on 2e Marktstraat in Naarden.[18] On June 18, 1910, they went to live with Lutz's brother, Ernst, for a short while,[19] and then with Lutz's parents, Nathan and Lina, at Noordeinde 109 in The Hague.[20] Later Nathan would reveal how deeply it had hurt him to find out that Lutz and Jenny had kept their conversion a secret, even when they were living with him in his own home. In the meantime, Jenny had once again become pregnant and on October 15, 1910, their third child was born: Robert. He was circumcised according to Jewish law, as his older brother George had been,[21] but his baptism was postponed until the family arrived in Sumatra, where Fr. H. C. Verbraak, SJ, administered the sacrament on January 22, 1911.[22]

Less than six weeks after Robert's birth, the Löb family left for Sumatra on the steamship *De Vondel*.[23] In the meantime, the Ministry of Colonies had appointed Lutz as mining engineer at the Ombilin Coal Mine.[24] The family lived in Sawah Loento, near the mining

18. Bevolkingsregister Naarden [Census records for Naarden], Register 1900–1921, volume 5, folio 278.

19. Letter from the Municipal Archives of The Hague, addressed to P. Steffen, dated June 24, 1998. E. Loeb lived at Maaswijkstraat 34 in Scheveningen. See also E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 54.

20. Letter from the Municipal Archives of The Hague, addressed to P. Steffen, dated June 24, 1998.

21. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in Den Bosch, personal file Robert Löb, Br. Benjamin, letter from Pastor C. J. Oomen to the provincial dated September 13, 1926.

22. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands, Personal file Robert Löb, certificate of baptism submitted by Mathias Brans, Padang, October 11, 1926. Akh F Löb 16, extract from the registry of births for Robert Löb. In his extract dated December 27, 1921, in The Hague, Pastor J. van Rooy mistakenly noted January 26, 1911, as the date of Robert's baptism.

23. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 54.

24. Ako file 446, letter from the Minister of Colonies with appointment as miner, to depart the last day of November 1910, dated November 10, 1910; commissioning papers, December 29, 1910; stationed at the mining division of the Ombilin Coal Mine, December 9, 1910.

complex. Lutz had authorized his brother, Paul Loeb, to take care of his business matters in the Netherlands during his stay in the Dutch East Indies.[25]

2. Their Stay in the Dutch East Indies

If it is true that Lutz and Jenny went to the Dutch East Indies primarily so that they could openly live as Catholics, then the situation of the Catholic Church there must have really disappointed them. The Dutch East Indies was missionary terrain. Initially there were only some Jesuit priests working among the Europeans who were living there,[26] with the most important missionary posts on Sumatra being Padang, Kota Raja, and Medan. At the end of the nineteenth century, negotiations were begun with the *Propaganda Fide* in Rome,[27] the Jesuits, and the Capuchins concerning the possibility of the Capuchins taking over the missions on Sumatra.

25. Ako file 446: notarial deed.

26. Our information is primarily based on A. Brevoort, *The Capuchin Mission on Sumatra*, 1911–1923, Rome, 1993. This thesis uses the Capuchin's vast collection of correspondence to describe work in the mission. In addition, we've also used the following: Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in 's-Hertogenbosch, Kroniek van de missie der paters Kapucijnen op het eiland Sumatra 1912–1920 [Chronicle of the Capuchin mission on the island of Sumatra 1912–1920] by Fr. Aurelius Kerkers; File Sumatra-Padang (letters from Fr. Pessers, Fr. Verbrugge, and Fr. De Wolf to their provincial superior); Fr. Gregorius, *De hand aan den ploeg. Het missiewerk van de capucijnen op Borneo en Sumatra* [The hand on the plow. Capuchin missionary work on Borneo and Sumatra], place of publication unknown, 1942; Fr. Florimund van den Haag, *Het kruis in onze Oost* [The Cross in our East] (Amsterdam, 1936); Donatius Verhoeven, "Tandjong Sakti," *Borneo-Almanak* 7 (1917): 97–100; J. Bergmans, "De Katholieke Kerk in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië" [The Catholic Church in the Dutch East Indies], *Borneo-Almanak* 8 (1918): 23–30; "Donatius Verhoeven, missionary in Tandjong Sakti (Sumatra)," *Borneo-Almanak* 8 (1918): 81–84.

27. Congregatio De Propaganda Fide: the department of the Vatican which then coordinated the missionary activities of the Catholic Church.

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The Capuchins were already active in the missions on Borneo, and they were interested in annexing Sumatra as well for the sake of the salaries (grants from the state) which the missionaries would receive there.

The first Capuchin missionaries arrived in Padang in June 1912. Initially they focused their attention on the Europeans who were living on the island, as the Jesuits before them had done. About ten years later, the Capuchin missionaries began to direct their efforts toward the native populations, setting up schools and other social activities. Individual missionaries used a great variety of approaches to try to monitor the morals practiced by the European Catholics who were living there, but none of these missionaries really succeeded in getting their parishioners to accept the teachings of the Catholic faith. Many of the Europeans lived a rather liberal, free-thinking style of life, paying little or no attention to the duties and obligations which the church required of its members. A very small minority of the Catholics attended church services, and only a few children went to catechism classes. Many Catholics had mixed marriages, and there were numerous extramarital relationships from which children were born. The schools were neutral, without any regular classes for religious education, so the Capuchins tried to set up Catholic schools. Initially, however, the teaching congregations in the Netherlands (such as the Moerdijk Sisters, the Oirschot Sisters, and the Bennebroek Sisters) did not show any interest in this work, so it would be some time before these schools would really succeed.

The Capuchins also had trouble agreeing among themselves regarding their pastoral duties. In 1917, they were so desperate for staff personnel that they appealed to their governing body in Rome with the request that the *Propaganda Fide* transfer their mission territory to other missionaries. This request was refused. The governing body in Rome presumed that the problem in the missions was caused by the war in Europe, and since the Netherlands wasn't involved in that war, there was no need for the Dutch Capuchins to abandon their mission territory.

There were about two hundred Catholics living in Sawah Loento. In 1914 the mission bought an inn, which was subsequently used as a church. The Capuchins had permission from the colonial government to visit this mission station twelve times per year. The prefect, Fr. Liberatus Cluts, would have liked to have made this a permanent parish, but he had neither sufficient personnel nor sufficient funds to do so. In 1915, Fr. Rupertus Verbrugge was appointed missionary for Padang and was asked to travel to several other mission stations, including the mining area around Sawah Loento. In 1916, one of the priests wrote that the inn, which they were using as a church in Sawah Loento, was infected with white ants and that they would probably be able to use the little wooden building for no more than another six months. In 1919, construction was started on a stone church, but it would only be completed in 1920, and by then the Löb family had already departed.

As already mentioned, Lutz had received an appointment as mining engineer in the Ombilin Coal Mine near Sawah Loento on the west side of Sumatra.[28] Coal was mined on the surface there, with the advantage that there was less work involved in constructing mine shafts and underground tunnels. The work was done with little or no technical equipment. The extracted coal was then transported by horses and coolies.[29] As mining engineer, Lutz occupied a managerial position at the mine, but he also held various other jobs on the side, for example, with the mine's fire department, and later as a teacher

28. Ako file 446, letter from the Minister of Colonies with appointment as Miner, April 5, 1910; Letter from the Minister of Colonies with appointment as Miner, to depart the last day of November 1910, dated November 10, 1910; commissioning papers, December 29, 1910; stationed at the mining division of the Ombilin Coal Mine, December 9, 1910.

29. H. Colijn, ed., *Neerlands-Indië. Land en Volk—Geschiedenis en Bestuur—Bedrijf en Samenleving* (Amsterdam, 1911–1912), contains some general information about mining in Sawah Loento. See also: H. van den Doel, *Het Rijk van Insulinde* (Amsterdam, 1996); F. Naeff, *Het aanzien van Nederlands-Indië. Herinneringen aan een koloniaal verleden* (Utrecht, 1978).

at the mine's school, which was opened in 1917 in Sawah Loento.[30] As the years passed, his salary increased from 450 Dutch guilders per month in 1913 to 700 Dutch guilders per month in 1919,[31] which made it possible for his family to lead a rather lavish lifestyle. Jenny was surrounded by servants and nannies (*baboes*) and did not have to do much of the housekeeping herself. The family lived near the mine, along with several other families of higher officials, all of whom lived in large wooden houses. Another fellow student from the Delft Institute of Technology, Rudolf J. van Lier, also lived in Sawah Loento and was Lutz's colleague for several years.

Lutz and Jenny's family grew rapidly. On October 22, 1911, the twins were born, Wies (Louise) and Door (Dorothea), and were baptized that same day by Fr. Erftemeijer, SJ.[32] After giving birth, Jenny was sick for quite a while. It seems she had a weak heart and a local doctor concluded that it would be better for her to return to the Netherlands,[33] but due to contractual obligations, that advice could not immediately be followed. Two years later, on October 29, 1913,

30. Ako file 446: commissioning papers; raise in salary, February 7, 1912; letter regarding his appointment as deputy fire chief, May 17, 1912; appointment as engineer at the mine, December 21, 1912; raise in salary, June 10, 1913; raise in salary, March 8, 1915; appointment to the main office of the mine at Batavia, May 21, 1915; appointment as fire chief, December 22, 1915; reappointed to the Ombilin Coal Mine, June 27, 1916; appointment as hoseman for the fire department in Sawah Loento, March 19, 1917; appointment as teacher of mineralogy, geology, and mining for 6 hours, June 29, 1918.

31. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven: Excerpts from the Register der Besluiten van den Directeur van Gouvernementsbedrijven [Registry of the Decisions of the Director of Government Businesses], Batavia, March 23, 1918; idem, Batavia, June 22, 1918; idem, Weltevreden, October 20, 1920.

32. Many of the parochial archives in Padang were lost. In 1998, we received newly formulated certificates based on extant documents. Diocese of Padang, P. Florianus Sarno, Padang, July 11, 1998, baptismal certificate, vol. 3, no. 88, Louise Löb, and no. 89, Thea Löb, baptized by J. Erftemeijer.

33. According to a letter from Jenny dated October 1, 1926.

the third son, Ernst, was born. Lutz's colleagues, Rudolf van Lier and Theo van Wijngaarden, were witnesses when his birth was registered with the civil service department on October 30.[34] Ernst was baptized on January 15, 1914, by Fr. Dionysius Pessers, OFMCap, in Sawah Loento.[35] Hans was born on October 11, 1916, and baptized shortly thereafter by Fr. Rupertus Verbrugge, OFMCap, in Sawah Loento.[36] And last of all, Paula was born on December 23, 1918, and baptized the day after Christmas, also by Fr. Rupertus Verbrugge in Sawah Loento.[37] There were now eight children in the family.

When the Löb family arrived in Sawah Loento, there was no church building and no flourishing Catholic life to speak of. About once a month a missionary came to administer the sacraments (confession and reconciliation, baptism, Eucharist). Later, Jenny would remember that "weeks and months would pass before you would see a priest, and precisely because we could live freely, we were better Catholics."[38] She remembered it as being significant that they no longer had to live as crypto-Catholics in Sawah Loento. Rather, they were free to live as Catholics in public, even if they were primarily left to their own resources in matters of faith.

Looking back at this period of their lives, Lutz and Jenny would write almost nothing about the development of their inner life of faith. For that reason, it is not really clear what Jenny meant by the

34. Akh F Löb 1, Excerpt from the Registry of Births, 1913–1917.

35. Diocese of Padang, Florianus Sarno, baptismal certificate vol. 5, p. 3, Padang, July 11, 1998.

36. Diocese of Padang, Florianus Sarno, baptismal certificate vol. 4, p. 45, Padang, July 11, 1998.

37. Documentation, Paula van Broekhoven-Löb, baptismal certificate Paula Löb, January 15, 1919; Diocese of Padang, Florianus Sarno, baptismal certificate vol. 5, p. 38, Padang, July 11, 1998. None of the birth certificates from Padang mention the names of the godparents; only Paula's notes that the child's father was also the godfather.

38. Akh F Löb 2. J. Löb-van Gelder, *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [My Journey to Christ], 3.

expression that she and Lutz were "better Catholics." It probably had to do with the fact that they could publicly confess their faith, that they could take part in Catholic worship services whenever there was an opportunity, that they were able to pray together daily as a family, and that they could read Catholic literature and raise their children in this faith tradition.

There was an elementary school for European boys in Sawah Loento, a public school, where religion received little attention. The Löb boys attended this school, which meant that Lutz and Jenny had to provide for their religious instruction at home. It was only in 1921, when the mission began to develop in another direction under the leadership of Fr. Brans, that a Catholic elementary school was opened, but it was primarily intended for Chinese children. The three older daughters attended boarding school in Padang, which was on the coast, about 150 kilometers from Sawah Loento. Although there were train connections between the two places, it was a rather roundabout route, so they only came home to Sawah Loento for their vacations. The religious training of the Löb daughters was in the hands of the Sisters of Charity from Tilburg, who had a monastery in Padang and ran a school for the daughters of Europeans who worked on Sumatra. The quality of the education which these sisters offered was nothing special; the Mother Superior primarily sought to maintain strict monastic discipline as it was then practiced in the Netherlands.[39]

39. J. Brouwers, *Na de drie begijnen ging het verder. Geschiedenis van de Congregatie van de Zusters van Liefde van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, Moeder van Barmhartigheid: de stichtingen buiten Nederland* ('s-Hertogenbosch, 2000), 72–75, especially 73: "The sisters had received diplomas, but the vicar apostolic had heard that some of them really shouldn't have been given passing grades on their examinations, that the examination committee had taken pity on them and had just given them a diploma anyway. The Mother Superior knew nothing about education and all she did was scrupulously attend to the observance of regulations that applied to the motherhouse in Tilburg, observed Luypen" [the vicar apostolic of Batavia].

The photos which were taken during their years in the Dutch East Indies portray a young, thriving family—Lutz was able to afford to send his daughters to boarding school—but the exterior prosperity says little about how the various members of the family felt. The fact that the girls went to boarding school and were home only now and then certainly had an effect on the family life. Looking back, Lutz and Jenny do not give the impression that they had any problem with being homesick for the Netherlands, but whether or not they ever really grew accustomed to the way of life in the East remains a question.

> Dear ones, yesterday evening your letter of July 2 arrived in the mail, with the letter from Jenny's family enclosed. We were certainly happy to hear from you, and glad that it brought nothing except good news . . . All the same, we long to be home. During all these years, we've never really been able to adapt. These people are so completely different from what we're accustomed to. Here in these tiny out-of-the-way places, they're so narrow and petty in their views, or they soon become so, not to mention the more serious matters of drunkenness, slander, and envy. Even though we're on good terms with everyone, it's not really possible to establish a stable, confidential friendship with anyone. Our relaxation is within the family circle, with the children, with good reading material, but as time goes on, both of us are beginning to long to be freed from our intellectual and spiritual isolation. And where else could this better be achieved than in our own families?[40]

The letter reveals how lonely their existence in Sawah Loento was—the phrase "intellectual and spiritual isolation" strongly emphasizes the fact. But it's questionable whether being back in their own family circles would have relieved this feeling of isolation, since their secret

40. Ako file 427, letter from Lutz to his family, October 12, 1918.

choice for the Catholic faith had left them feeling like anomalies. This type of loneliness was a feeling which Lutz and Jenny shared with many other Dutch citizens who lived for longer periods of time in the countryside of the Dutch East Indies.[41] Jenny did not have very much to do in Sawah Loento: nursemaids cared for the children, servants took care of the housekeeping, and there was only a very limited social life with the small group of Dutch civil servants in and around Sawah Loento. Later Jenny would repeatedly say that it was a beautiful land for small children and elderly people, but not really a place for adults in the prime of their life, as she and Lutz were at that time.[42]

As already mentioned, there were several engineers working in the Dutch East Indies who had gone to school in Delft. Louis Feber, one of Lutz's fellow students, was a civil engineer on Java, but they probably had little or no contact with each other during those years. The Schmutzer family had a sugar plantation in Djocdjakarta. Two sons from this family, Jos and Jules, had been born in the Dutch East Indies but had studied in Delft, where Lutz had come to know them. Jos had been active in Sanctus Virgilius, the Catholic student association, as well as in the Union of Roman Catholic Student Associations, founded in 1902.[43] During his years as a student, he had developed a strong social conscience and had become a champion of Catholic social teaching.[44] After graduation, he returned to the

41. See Naeff, *Het aanzien van Nederlands-Indië*.

42. Oral tradition within the family, which Jenny passed on to her youngest daughter, Paula van Broekhoven-Löb.

43. Gerard Brom, *Een katholiek leven*, eds. Paul Luykx and Jan Roes (Baarn, 1987), 64–65, 200. Brom was active in the Roman Catholic Student Association in Utrecht and was later secretary of the Union of Roman Catholic Student Associations. He knew the Schmutzer family in that context, especially Jos who would later become a professor.

44. Delft University of Technology, Vereeniging van Delftsche ingenieurs, *Alphabetische Naamlijst* 1934 [Association of Engineers from Delft, *Alphabetical List of Names,* 1934] notes: Jules R. A. M. Schmutzer graduated in mechanical

Dutch East Indies for a while, where he consulted Lutz about the working conditions in Sawah Loento.[45] Jos Schmutzer's reaction gives the impression that what Lutz had to say was not very positive:

> Of course, your unfavorable opinion of the state's exploitation is based on the existence of actual abuses. If we Catholics, who are always claiming to be so proud of Leo's *Rerum Novarum*, aren't being called to expose these abuses in the world of the working classes, to make it possible to vigorously fight against such abuses, then who is? Do the Socialists have to take over this work as well, out of hate, which we Catholics are obligated to perform out of love?[46]

In any case, this seems to reveal that Jos Schmutzer had maintained his Catholic enthusiasm for social issues from his days in the Sanctus Virgilius student association. His brother, Jules, also returned to the Dutch East Indies after completing his studies in Delft, and went to work on the family's sugar plantation.

While he was in the Dutch East Indies, Lutz had occasional contacts with George Wiessing, another friend from his student days, who was working in Bolivia and who corresponded regularly with their mutual friend, Egbert Beekman. The surviving correspondence between Wiessing and Beekman mentions the Löb family in passing. Wiessing had received a photo from Lutz depicting his large family, which he had shown his wife, with the derisive remark

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engineering in 1910 and worked in the administration of Suikerfabriek [Sugar Factory] Gondang Lipoero. Also his brother: Dr. Jos I. J. M. Schmutzer, graduated in mining engineering in 1904, received his doctorate in technology in 1910, and worked as a professor at the National University.

45. Ako file 427, letter J. Schmutzer, Djocdjakarta, January 19, 1919, addressed to "Waarde Löb" [The Worthy Mr. Löb].

46. Ako file 427, letter Dr. J. Schmutzer, Waarde Löb [The Worthy Mr. Löb], Djocdjakarta, February 6, 1919. Schmutzer uses the phrase "Leo's *Rerum Novarum*" to refer to the social encyclical issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1891.

that that was a normal-sized family for Dutch Catholics.[47] It seems that the contacts between the Beekman couple and the Löb couple had dwindled, even though Lutz and Jenny had been witnesses of Egbert Beekman's marriage with a convert in 1907.

Lutz was sick in 1917, so he went to Fort de Kock, north of Sawah Loento, for a month to recuperate.[48] Afterward, he insisted that the Ministry of Colonies transfer him to another post in the Dutch East Indies, but this request was not honored.[49] Later, however, he did receive an appointment as a teacher for several hours per week in the mine's school in Sawah Loento.[50] He had been involved with the mine's school from its inception in April 1917, and he continued to work there until he took his leave of absence.

We've already seen how Lutz wrote about their intellectual and spiritual isolation and his desire to return home.[51] He also wrote about the possibility of a leave of absence when the war ended. The letters written toward the end of the war contain more and more references to such a proposed leave. However, Lutz had to admit that he had not yet been able to set aside very much money, so they

47. Documentation, Cl. Klompé-Wiessing, Arnhem, Correspondence Wiessing, letter from George Wiessing to Bert and Marietje Beekman, December 11, 1919, 258–61. "I scared my wife to death with that photo Löb sent (when he received my wedding announcement!) of his eight children—it looked like a pile of earthworms, a labyrinth of organ pipes!—and I explained it was a Dutch custom."

48. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Correspondence, Mining and the Ministry of Colonies, letter from the Engineer-Director of the Ombilin Mine to L. Löb regarding an excused absence for one month due to illness, October 9, 1917.

49. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Correspondence Mining and the Ministry of Colonies, letter from the Main Office of the Mine to L. Löb concerning a possible transfer, November 29, 1918.

50. Ako file 446, Appointment as teacher of mineralogy, geology, and mining for 6 hours, June 29, 1918.

51. Ako file 427, letter from Lutz to his family, October 12, 1918.

would have to try to get by on the reduced salary he would be receiving during such a period of leave. This was his way of making a thinly veiled request for financial help from his side of the family.[52] The leave salary would be substantially less than what Lutz had been drawing each month in the Dutch East Indies.

On October 12, 1918, Lutz answered a letter from the Loeb family, dated July 2, but which had taken three months to reach him. That letter mentioned a new factory in Amersfoort, where his oldest brother Ernst would be the manager, and that his brother Paul had moved into their parent's home at Noordeinde 109. In the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* [New Rotterdam Courier], Lutz had read that his youngest sister, Thea, had passed her law exams. Jenny added a few lines at the end of Lutz's letter and enclosed a separate letter for her own family, saying that the girls were doing well in school in Padang and that they were quite musical. She always sent letters for the Van Gelder family via the Loeb family in The Hague.

> Lientje [Dutch for "little Lien," a nickname for Lien] is almost as big as I am and a lot like Thea was when she was the same age. The boys are mischievous and not very good students—they'll have to catch up a lot in Holland. Ernst and Hans are a couple of happy-go-lucky gasbags, very different from Robbie and George. If this next one is a boy, we're going to name him Paul.[53]

But as already mentioned, it was a girl and they named her Paula.

Ernst Loeb kept Lutz and Jenny up to date regarding the business and the family in the Netherlands during World War I:

52. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter from the Ministry of Colonies, September 27, 1919. The leave salary was later set at 255 Dutch guilders per month. At that time, Lutz's salary in the Dutch East Indies was 700 Dutch guilders per month. Prices had risen due to the war.

53. Ako file 427, letter from Lutz to his family, October 12, 1918.

> It's been a long time now since we've given you anything more than a mere sign of life. The poor postal service, the fact that we were quite uncertain whether our letters would reach you or not and, on top of that, an extremely busy, tiring job, were the reasons for that silence; and since we weren't hearing anything from you either, there was no incentive to end that silence until now. But then we saw the letter you sent to The Hague, and immediately—naturally—the time was ripe to take decisive action, to make sure you received a detailed account of how things have been here for the past couple of years.[54]

Ernst presumed that the family's birth and death announcements had reached Lutz and Jenny. Then he described how the Loeb family, and especially himself, had fared in their business matters. The beginning of the war had brought things pretty much to a halt:

> No one bought, no one paid, no one thought much about honoring their obligations as they should; it only lasted a couple weeks, that's true, but for a while there it was feverish work, trying to get that crazed state of business affairs more or less back into some kind of order again.

This pandemonium led Ernst to conclude that they should no longer be dependent on a bank lending them credit. There were plans to build a factory, but in order to keep the business afloat, they needed to take out additional bank loans.

> What was really quite favorable for our business is that, from the very beginning, we resisted the temptation to do business in raw materials, which were becoming more and more scarce. Many businesses did precisely that and, due to the easy gains, began to neglect their manufacturing, to

54. Ako file 427, letter from E. Loeb to Lutz and Jenny, September 9, 1918.

> reduce it or even close it down, with the result that they became exclusively dependent on trade in raw materials.

At a certain point there were very few raw materials being imported, and the government took measures to control the supply chain. Ernst was co-director of a factory which, along with a few other clothing manufacturers, began to produce the products which had previously been imported from foreign countries. Together with the firm Labouchère, the family business was reorganized and became a limited liability company, the Dutch Clothing Factory of A. Cohen & Co. [nv Nederlandsche Confectiefabriek v/h A. Cohen & Co.]. The Loeb and Cohen families together owned half of the shares, for a total value of 250,000 Dutch guilders. Alfred Loeb, who had graduated from law school, took over his father Nathan's position as authorized attorney. Ernst became director, together with Asser Cohen and his son Sally, who was assuming more and more of the daily duties of running the business, since his father was gradually retiring. The business flourished during the war years, but the situation changed when restraints were placed on the import and export of German raw materials and products: the Dutch clothing industry entered a crisis, and for the Loeb family's business, this meant the loss of an important sales outlet. Due to the enormous and rapidly growing inflation in Germany, businesses in England and France could buy raw materials in Germany quite cheaply, which left other companies saddled with expensive inventories from previous years. In addition, the transition of the business to a limited liability company eventually turned out to be a fiasco for Ernst Loeb: in 1924, he had to leave the firm due to financial problems.[55]

Ernst did not say much about the various members of the family. His wife, Esther, was fine. His son Norbert was a sophomore in high school "and is doing quite well, except for German." Norbert had skipped a grade in elementary school and was especially interested

55. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 66 and 77–78.

in technology. Ernst hoped that Norbert would study industrial engineering at Delft and then join the family business. His other son, Leo, had been kept back a year due to an appendectomy—next year he would go to high school. His daughter, Emmy, who had been born in 1916, was spoiled by her older brothers. Although Ernst Loeb and his wife, Esther, did not really consider themselves to be religious Jews, they did observe some of the Jewish traditions.

> This coming Saturday is Norbert's Bar Mitzvah. We would be having a really big celebration if distribution of food and supplies weren't so difficult—we can't get much these days, so we'll only have Papa and Mama, Thea, Fredi, and a few other guests.[56]

The Loeb family was oriented toward Germany, and that certainly played a role in their political opinions during World War I. Initially, many Dutch citizens shared their pro-German stance. However, after Belgium was invaded and Belgians began fleeing to the Netherlands, that pro-German stance began to clash with increasingly anti-German sentiments. Ernst Loeb remembers how his sisters Emma and Johanna enthusiastically recounted the German war accomplishments in their letters. They were both married to Germans and lived in Kiel and Frankfurt,[57] and like so many Jews who loved their fatherland, Emma's husband, Wilhelm Spiegel, was a German soldier who was personally involved in the warfare.

Sometime between September 1918 and March 1919, the Loeb family in the Netherlands had heard that Lutz, Jenny, and their children were openly living as Roman Catholics in Sawah Loento. Lutz probably confirmed these rumors in a letter to his brother Ernst in mid-January 1919. The situation is described in a letter which Ernst Loeb wrote to Lutz and Jenny, dated March 22, 1919:

56. Ako file 427, letter from Ernst Loeb to Lutz and Jenny Löb, September 9, 1918.

57. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 59.

> By the way, Paul and I had heard rumors, so we were already prepared for the news. But since there had been no first-hand confirmation, we had only given moderate credence to the rumors which Frits Bromberg and others were relaying. We've never spoken to Papa about it.[58]

Ernst writes in his later memoirs:

> During their stay in the Dutch East Indies, we were repeatedly receiving messages from repatriates who had met them over there. From these reports we could conclude only that they were living a strict Catholic life. Mama never knew this, but Papa did find out and, finally, after a long time, I too learned of it, in a letter from Lutz himself.[59]

Ernst must have made a mistake when he called his cousin "Frits;" he must have meant their cousin Richard Bromberg, who had had regular contacts with Lutz while the latter was living with the Brombergs from 1897 through 1900, during his studies at the business school in Amsterdam. Richard too underwent a conversion process and was baptized in 1927.[60] It is possible that while Lutz was in Sawah Loento, he was also corresponding with Richard about the Catholic faith, and that Richard then mentioned it within the family circle.

It seems to have been quite clear to Ernst and Paul that it would be a terrible shock for their parents to learn that Lutz and Jenny had been baptized while they were still in the Netherlands and that they were now living as Roman Catholics in Sawah Loento. They did not say anything about it to their father, but nonetheless he seems to have learned of the situation through other channels. According to Ernst, it would have been too great a blow for their then sickly

58. Ako file 427, letter from E. Loeb to L. Löb, March 22, 1919.
59. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 54.
60. Documentation, R. Appeljan-Bromberg, Apeldoorn.

mother, Lina (who had already lost her son Frits and her daughter-in-law Conny in 1916), to learn that she had now "spiritually and interiorly" lost her son Lutz and the grandchildren.[61] Obviously, Lina would have realized the truth of the matter when Lutz became a teacher at a Catholic school in Bergen op Zoom in 1922, but in her letters written during those years, she never mentioned the subject. Speaking about Lutz and Jenny's conversion was taboo in the family as long as Nathan and Lina were still alive.

It was only much later that Lutz and Jenny learned of the death of Conny Loeb-Simons, the wife of Lutz's younger brother Frits. She had died while giving birth to her handicapped son, Bendit Henri, in 1916.[62] Frits and Conny had married earlier that year and were a very promising couple: Conny had graduated from law school and Frits had been appointed architect of the city of Utrecht.[63] After Conny's death, Frits threw himself completely into his work and died a couple years later, in January 1919, in Ernst's opinion "from the flu, which began with a cold which he had caught while working on the restoration of the Dom [Cathedral] Tower of Utrecht."[64]

Ernst also kept his brother up to date regarding the changed mentality in the Loeb home, which was why he thought it would be better for Lutz to keep silent regarding his conversion:

> In other words, what you wrote [January 19, 1919, Hans Evers/Peter Steffen] contains so much news, such bizarre news, and is so especially directed to the oldest brother, that I can't allow myself to omit bringing the consequences of this news to your attention before you arrive here. . . .

61. Ako file 427, letter from Ernst Loeb to Lutz and Jenny, March 22, 1919.

62. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 71–72. Ako file 427, letter from Ernst Loeb to Lutz, March 21, 1919. In this letter, Ernst asks: "What do you have to say about the tragic departure of Frits?" This formulation presumes that Lutz had already been notified of the death of his brother.

63. Letter from the municipality of Utrecht to P. Steffen, June 5, 2000.

64. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 72.

> Now, more so than in the past, you're going to find an atmosphere of Jewish nationalism in our parents' home, in which your convictions, by their very nature, are going to find very little "Anklang" [German for "approval"].
>
> Frits, in whom we've lost someone of great promise, was a zealous Zionist, and Fredi and Thea are too. Papa, Paul, and I experience this Jewish feeling which is stirring as being liberating and edifying, something which we gladly support, even though we're no longer young and enthusiastic enough to go looking for a personal task within the movement. Now that business matters no longer keep him busy, Papa has accepted a position on the Church Council, which he fills in his own very patriarchal manner. . . . I think that staying away would offend Papa and Mama . . . but that also means, in my opinion, that the particular matter of your religion should not be allowed to become a great sorrow in the midst of the joy (of seeing each other again). Recovering a child and grandchildren, only to experience simultaneously that, in spite of everything, they've really lost them, spiritually and interiorly—that's what we have to spare them. That's my deepest, most heartfelt conviction.
>
> So, if you want to come and if you can behave in this spirit, then all of you are completely and wholeheartedly welcome. But if you can't do this, if your church insists that you "witness" and "preach the Gospel to all creatures," then I foresee it as being a very difficult, bitter day for the old folks.[65]

No reaction from Lutz to this advice from his brother has been found. We presume that Lutz did receive the letter before he left for the Netherlands, since it was dated a good six months before their departure from Sawah Loento.

65. Letter Ernst Loeb, March 22, 1919.

3. Return to the Netherlands and the Spitsbergen Adventure

As a national official stationed abroad, Lutz was entitled to a leave of absence to visit his family in the Netherlands. Due to the wartime situation in Europe, however, his requests for leave were repeatedly postponed. Finally, in mid-1919, his leave was approved. In preparation for his stay in the Netherlands, Lutz wrote several letters in which he mentioned the considerable increase in prices in the Dutch East Indies. He also asked his brothers to make arrangements for a temporary residence for his family in the Netherlands, preferably near Jenny's mother. In September 1919, Lutz wrote several letters in German (instead of in Dutch, as he had done in the past), probably so that his mother, Lina, would be able to read the letters without any problem.

> Wo möglich, meldet uns nach Buenos Aires ob und wo Ihr für uns gemietet habt. Wie ich schon schrieb, ist Laren uns am liebsten . . . Jenny's Mutter kann schwer reisen und wir haben ihr deshalb gebeten uns in dem Hause zu empfangen, das Ihr für uns gemietet habt mit ihrer jüngerer Schwester, Tante Bet . . . Unsre Kisten, 4 Stück ll 1–4 sind schon fort und werden warscheinlich eher als wir dort sein.[66]

And a few weeks later:

> Meine Lieben, Ich fühle mich sehr müde und hoffe nach der 3 monatlichen Seereise wieder frisch dort an zu kommen. . . . Bei unsre Abreise sende ich alles was wir nicht auf

66. Ako file 427. "If possible, send us a message in Buenos Aires to let us know if and where you have been able to rent a house for us. As I wrote earlier, Laren is our preference. Jenny's mother can't travel very well any more, and we've told her that she's welcome to come to the house which you've rented for us, along with her younger sister, Aunt Bet. Our four trunks, labeled "ll 1–4," have already been shipped and will probably arrive in the Netherlands before we do."

> der Reise brauchen, direkt nach Holland per Rott.Lloyd an Paul's Adresse . . . Schon seit 3 Juli haben wir keinen Brief mehr erhalten von Euch. Hoffentlich hat Euer Stillschweigen keine andre Ursache und sehen wir Euch bald gesund und wohl wieder.[67]

In October 1919, Jenny also wrote the Loeb family, addressing them as "Meine Lieben," but only to continue the letter in Dutch. She wrote about packing their trunks, and said that Lutz was already almost better, just thinking about being able to leave soon. She hoped that it would not be cold in the Netherlands.

> We'll have our servants as far as Batavia, but not after that. It's too expensive to take them with us, since the company doesn't cover them. But that's okay—that way I can learn everything before we get to Holland. I'll certainly be one maid there![68]

At the bottom of the letter, Lutz wrote, "I'm not sick, just tired."

Lutz wanted to combine the return trip to the Netherlands with a visit to George Wiessing, who had been a fellow student in Delft, and who now lived with his wife, Mariposa, in Bolivia. The exchange of letters between Wiessing and Beekman does not give us the impression that their contacts were very intense, and it is not really clear why Lutz wanted to make such a long detour to visit Wiessing. In order to go to Bolivia, the family could not follow the usual route

67. Ako file 427, letter, October 5, 1919. "My dear ones, I'm feeling tired, but hope to arrive there fit as a fiddle after a sea voyage of three months. When we leave, I'm going to send everything we don't need during the journey directly to Paul's house in the Netherlands, via Lloyd's of Rotterdam. We haven't received any letters from any of you since July 3. Hopefully there's no other reason for your silence, and we'll soon see each other again, safe and sound."

68. Ako file 426, Undated correspondence, letter from Jenny Löb-van Gelder to the Loeb family (October 1919).

from the Dutch East Indies to the Netherlands. Rather, they would have to travel via Chile, which required special permission from the Ministry of Colonies. On August 25, 1919, Lutz received permission to travel via Chile, provided the total cost of the journey did not exceed the costs usually covered by the government, namely, 2000 Dutch guilders for each person twelve years of age and older, and 1000 Dutch guilders for children under twelve years of age.[69] Furthermore, it was determined that Lutz was entitled to ten months' leave in Europe with leave pay amounting to 255 Dutch guilders per month.[70]

The trip began in October 1919 with the family traveling first by train from Sawah Loento to Padang, and then by boat to Batavia.[71] There Lutz and Jenny and the children checked into a hotel, since the steamship *Van Cloon*, which would carry them via Sydney to Valparaíso in Chile, was delayed.[72]

> In view of the very irregular connections between Emmahaven [Padang] and Tandjong Priok [Batavia] at the time,

69. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter from the Office of Mining in Weltevreden, August 25, 1919.

70. At that time, his salary was 700 Dutch guilders per month.

71. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Correspondence Mining and Ministry of Colonies. Letters from the main office of mining regarding travel documents and traveling via Chile, June 25, 1919; July 19, 1919; August 25, 1919; September 9, 1919. Letter regarding a ten-month leave in Europe, September 27, 1919. Bill from "Hotel des Indes" in Batavia, October 26, 1919, for lodgings for six days for the whole family for 450 Dutch guilders. Passenger's ticket number 7 from the "Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij" [The "Royal Packet Company," a Dutch shipping company which maintained shipping lines to and from the Dutch East Indies], October 23, 1919, for five cabins on the *Van Cloon*, first class, to leave around October 31, 1919, for the price of 4675 Dutch guilders. Receipts and account rendering for the trip to Holland, March 23, 1920. Letters regarding the settlement of travel expenses, claiming leave pay, and recovering travel expenses.

72. Cf. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 108a.

> I had to depart from Sawah Loento on October 10 to be able to board the *SS Van Noort* for Batavia. According to the travel guide, this boat was scheduled to dock in Emmahaven on October 12, but it kept being postponed from one day to the next, so that it was October 17 by the time it finally departed. When we arrived in Batavia on the 20th, I received a message that the *SS Van Cloon*, which was supposed to carry me to Valparaíso, was postponed until October 28. . . . Actually, it was November 3 before I left. So that's the reason for the involuntary delay of six days in Padang and fourteen days in Batavia.[73]

Later, Jenny recorded some of her memories of their sea voyage in the form of a short story:[74]

> It was evening on the high sea. We were sitting in a quiet corner of the deck with a group of children. Father was sitting in one of the reed chairs with Hans on his knee. Three folding chairs had been pushed together, side by side, so that Wies and Doortje [Dutch for "little Door," a nickname for Door] could each sit next to the little girl who had become their mutual friend. Ernst was sitting on the ground with his back against one of the folding chairs and his arms around his knees. George and Rob were standing by the railing with a couple other boys, pointing out flying fish to each other—there were a lot of them when the weather was so calm . . . All of a sudden, Hans asked, "Papa, what is the moon, really?" "Well, son," said Father, "that's the little angels' golden ball. You see, they hung it up in the sky on a string when they had to go to bed. The string is really strong and holds it in place." The next evening at sunset the

73. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter from L. Löb, April 9, 1920, to the Travel Office in Weltevreden, with receipts and account rendering of travel expenses.

74. Akh F Löb 2: Jenny Löb, "Het gebroken touwtje" [The broken string].

> sky was crystal clear—not a single cloud in the sky. The sun was like a red ball, sinking lower and lower, until it finally reached the horizon, where it seemed to just rest on the water, making the sea iridescent, like mother of pearl, with a broad fiery-red stripe extending from the sun across the water. Father was standing by the railing with a couple of other men, enjoying the sunset, when suddenly little Hans came flying across the deck. Little fellow that he was, he was running right through the middle of all the chairs and passengers, all in a frenzy, shouting, "Papa, the string broke!"

Once they had arrived in Valparaíso, Lutz discovered it really was not possible to travel on to Bolivia.

> In Valparaíso erfuhren wir dass die Bahnreise nach Buenos Aires recht umständlich sei, ja fast unmöglich mit kleinen Kindern. Es liefen keine Schlafwagen mehr und jeden Abend gegen 10 Uhr hielt der Zug an irgend einem kleinen Hotel, wo die Reisenden übernachten und den anderen Morgen 6 Uhr wieder weiter zu reisen. Weiter hatte die Holl. Lloyd die Frachtpreise fast verdoppelt, waren die Schiffe überfüllt und bis März besprochen.[75]

George Wiessing, in turn, refrained from embarking on the long journey by train from where he lived to the place in Chile where Lutz's ship was anchored.

75. "In Valparaíso we learned that the train trip to Buenos Aires would be quite cumbersome, and really not feasible with small children. There weren't any sleeping cars; instead, every evening at 10:00 the train stopped at a small hotel where the travelers had to spend the night, and then be ready to depart the next morning at 6:00. In addition, Lloyd's, the Dutch shipping company, had almost doubled their freight prices; the ships were overcrowded and were already booked through March." Ako file 427, letter from Lutz, March 3, 1920, from the steamship *Almelo*, docked in Dartmouth.

> Löb is traveling to Holland via Valparaíso-Buenos Aires. He wrote me and told me that, just as you might do . . . Now that I've received the card, he's probably already left, but I wouldn't have been able to see him anyway. On the map, it looks as if we live on the coast, but it's a good thirty hours by train.[76]

On January 8, George Wiessing answered a telegram he had received from Lutz:

> Oh, I'm terribly sorry that I can't come, but it just can't be worked out. Tomorrow Mariposa is going to Oruro to await the baby there—I have to stay here because of my work, and go back and forth to visit her—there's no question of a trip to the coast at this time![77]

At the end of the month, Wiessing sent Lutz and Jenny a postcard addressed to N. Loeb, De Ruyterstraat 80 in The Hague. Wiessing had also been planning to take a leave of absence and travel to the Netherlands but, time and time again, that trip was postponed. He wished them a happy vacation in the Netherlands.[78]

From Chile, the Löb family took another ship, traveling via the Panama Canal, to England. There they experienced substantial delays involving freight, oil, and a strike,[79] and they ended up having to detour through Germany. On March 19, 1920, they departed from Hamburg by train and, traveling via Oldenzaal, finally reached The Hague on March 20. The trip had taken more than half a year, even though the steamship connections between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies in those days were usually not more than six

76. Documentation, Mrs. Cl. Klompé-Wiessing, Arnhem, Correspondence Wiessing, letter from G. Wiessing to E. Beekman, December 11, 1919, 259.

77. Correspondence Wiessing, letter, January 8, 1920, 267.

78. Correspondence Wiessing, postcard, January 27, 1920.

79. Ako file 427, letter from Lutz to his parents, February 28, 1920, from the *SS Almelo*; and letter dated March 3, 1920.

weeks.[80] The trunks with their baggage had arrived in the Netherlands long before they did, and they were charged extra storage fees.[81] As Lutz had stated earlier, the trunks were finally delivered to his brother Paul in The Hague.

In rendering his account of the cost of the journey, Lutz elaborated on the exceptionally long travel time, declaring a total cost of 15,122.07 Dutch guilders for the trip. There were questions concerning this declaration and an extensive correspondence between Lutz and the Department of Colonies ensued, with the result that Lutz was required to pay back a total of 264.97 Dutch guilders. This could be done in monthly installments of fifty Dutch guilders each.[82] After all, it had been Lutz's own choice to make a long detour during that trip to the Netherlands, which was why the travel and hotel expenses ended up being so high.

Within the family, a dramatic story illustrates how mixed feelings accompanied the reunion of the Loeb clan with the Löb family, due to the fact that Lutz and Jenny had wanted to keep their conversion a secret. Nonetheless, it had become known: Lutz's brother Paul would have opened the trunks which had been shipped ahead, and inside he would have discovered a crucifix, which would have definitively confirmed the rumors. According to Ernst, no one said anything about the conversion to their sickly mother, Lina. Their father, Nathan, would have been disappointed, above all, in the deceptive behavior, and not so much in the conversion in itself.[83]

80. B. Lap, *Selamat Djalan. Varen naar de Oost*. Published by the Maritime Museum, Rotterdam, 1980. It's possible that Lutz, due to friction with the family, quite consciously planned on having a long trip, so that they would be able to be on leave in the Netherlands for only a short period of time.

81. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter Department of Colonies, April 17, 1920. Lutz himself would have to pay the extra costs for shipping the baggage.

82. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter Department of Colonies, no. 3741, The Hague, April 17, 1920.

83. Memories of Mrs. P. van Broekhoven-Löb; E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 108a.

Two days after returning to the Netherlands, Lutz registered his family as residents of the city of The Hague, initially at the address Obrechtstraat 486, and then after April 4, 1921, at J. P. Coenstraat 33.[84] It seems that the Loeb family had not rented a house for them near Laren, and consequently they were not living near Jenny's mother now. Moving to J. P. Coenstraat meant that they had more room and that they were living in a more distinguished neighborhood. Lutz and Jenny could get furniture and other household items on credit from Paul's business, but there was no question of any further financial assistance at that time.[85]

The older children in the Löb family were lagging far behind in their education, not only due to the long trip, but also due to the educational situation in the Dutch East Indies. It's true that Lutz had given his children private math and language classes every day while they were on the boat, but that was not an adequate substitute for a school; so now a private tutor was hired for them, Miss Schwalbe. And since Jenny had been accustomed to having servants care for the housekeeping and raising the children in the Dutch East Indies, they hired two servants in The Hague as well.

As mentioned above, Lutz received leave pay amounting to 255 Dutch guilders per month from the government.[86] The house on Obrechtstraat was simpler and probably cheaper than the large house on J. P. Coenstraat, where the rent alone was 166 Dutch guilders per month.[87] The question remains as to how Lutz was able to support

84. Municipal Archives, The Hague, written memo addressed to P. Steffen, June 24, 1998.

85. Ako file 427, Correspondence between Lutz and Paul, 1926–1927.

86. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Department of Colonies, March 30, 1920, copy of the authorized leave and leave pay which had been effective since October 1919, in the Dutch East Indies.

87. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, summary of the correspondence by H. van Broekhoven: summary of a letter from Jenny Löb-van Gelder from around November 1921. Ako file 426 (Undated correspondence), notes made by Jenny Löb-van Gelder concerning meetings with Mr. Dresselhuijs in

his family during this period. Given his income, they were living far beyond their means.

Once back in the Netherlands, Lutz probably requested an extension of his leave due to poor health. He had earlier been informed that he would need to report around May 1, 1920, either in order to arrange for his return, or to request an extension of his leave. His paid leave had begun on September 27, 1919; on May 17, 1920, it was extended to November 1, 1920, for health reasons, and his leave pay was increased by 114.75 Dutch guilders per month due to his illness. But postponement was not meant to become cancellation: on December 8, 1920, the Ministry of Colonies sent Lutz a letter, requiring him to depart for the Dutch East Indies on January 22, 1921, at the latest. Lutz had no interest in returning, so once again he requested an extension of his leave. However, the arguments which Lutz presented for a second extension of his leave did not convince the Ministry and, a couple weeks later, Lutz received another reminder that he should be departing.[88]

In the course of the year 1920, while on his extended leave, Lutz had come in contact with Hendrik Dresselhuijs, a mechanical engineer who was co-owner of a shipping company in Rotterdam. Dresselhuijs had plans to set up a coal-mining company on the island of Spitsbergen. With this in mind he, together with several other shipowners and a banker, founded the Nederlandsche Spitsbergen Compagnie [Dutch Spitsbergen Company, abbreviated "Nespico"] on January 20, 1921, and acquired a mining concession.[89] Several

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1921. The house on J. P. Coenstraat was probably rented by Nespico (Nederlandsche Spitsbergen Compagnie [Dutch Spitsbergen Company]), which housed the Löb family there.

88. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter Minister of Colonies, May 17, 1920; copy, March 30, 1920, Ministry of Colonies; Department of Colonies, May 17, 1920; Department of Colonies, August 13, 1920; copy of letter, December 30, 1920; Letter, January 24, 1921; Letters, February 18, 1921, and February 21, 1921.

89. National Archives, The Hague, Ministry of Justice, Limited Liability

companies of various nationalities were already mining on Spitsbergen and shipping the coal to the European continent. The quality of this coal was high, but it was difficult and expensive to mine. It is true that the layers of coal were not very deep beneath the surface of the ground, but the ground was frozen. During the winter months, Spitsbergen was surrounded by ice masses, making it difficult or impossible for ships to reach the island. In the summer, it was light, day and night, and in the winter it was dark almost all day long. Life on that island was hard.[90]

Lutz probably met Dresselhuijs through Rudolf van Lier, a colleague who was also a mining engineer in Sawah Loento and who would later be employed by Dresselhuijs' company, eventually becoming co-director along with Dresselhuijs.[91] The order in which things happened is not really clear. Did Dresselhuijs' plans offer financial prospects which were sufficiently attractive to Lutz and Jenny for them to decide not to return to the Dutch East Indies? Or had they already made that decision, and was Lutz busy looking into job possibilities in the Netherlands? He really did need money so that his family could continue to live in the way they were accustomed. The disagreements with the Ministry of Colonies about financial obligations probably also led to Lutz's not wanting to continue in his governmental post. Or perhaps the Ministry had let him know that he had maneuvered himself into an impossible position.

On February 23, 1921, Lutz wrote a letter to the Ministry of Colonies, requesting an honorable discharge. The answer he received

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Companies: Dossier no. 24348 regarding Nespico: notarized foundation papers.

90. *De Katholieke Illustratie*, no. 52 (December 29, 1949): 1734–1737, "Waar het leven hard is!" ["Where life is hard!"]; H. Hielkema, "Wie sterft op Spitsbergen, sterft te vroeg," [Whoever dies on Spitsbergen, dies too soon], *Dagblad Trouw* (August 13, 1983).

91. Municipal archives, Rotterdam Library J550: Reports for the fiscal years 1923/24 and 1924/25 for the Nespico Company, established in Rotterdam.

was that he should direct his request for a discharge to the queen. He requested a discharge effective March 1, and was granted a discharge effective April 1, 1921.[92] Thereafter followed a long, drawn-out correspondence with the Ministry over the financial settlement of his commission in the Dutch East Indies.

Dresselhuijs needed a manager who could set up a work camp and get production started at a coal mine on Spitsbergen. We suspect that Lutz had met Dresselhuijs at the end of 1920, and was offered the job of technical manager by Nespico at the beginning of 1921. Apparently Dresselhuijs enjoyed the confidence of Lutz and Jenny—whatever happened was based entirely on verbal agreements. The fact that Dresselhuijs' brother was a prominent figure and a congressman probably also played a part in their naïve credulity. Only much later would a formal contract be drawn up, and that would quickly lead to differences of opinion, since Dresselhuijs did not want to comply with the commitments as they were formulated. This contract specified an appointment for five years, with a half-year's notice required for dissolution of the contract. Lutz would earn 18,000 Dutch guilders per year. There was also an agreement about compensation for debts incurred due to the fact that Lutz had to resign from his position as a national official.[93] The promised salary was substantially higher than what Lutz had enjoyed in the Dutch East Indies, and he would be relieved of the financial problems with the Ministry. He would have to stay on Spitsbergen for a longer period of time, especially in the beginning, when they were just getting started with the coal mining. After that, he would be able to do much of his work from the Netherlands. Lutz and Jenny went along with the attractive prospects which Dresselhuijs offered them: the excellent financial

92. Ako file 446: Honorable discharge from service to his country on April 1, 1921, Royal Decree of March 18, 1921.

93. That is the tenor of Jenny's letter written in November 1921, and is similar to the summary by H. van Broekhoven. cf. Ako file 426, Undated correspondence: notes made by Jenny Löb-van Gelder (November 1921).

prospects seemingly outweighed the temporary separation due to Lutz's having to stay on Spitsbergen. Apparently there were either no other career prospects at the moment or Nespico's offer was far and away the most attractive.

In May 1921, Lutz departed for Spitsbergen by boat, traveling first to Bergen, then to Narvik, and from there on to Spitsbergen.[94] On May 28, Jenny received a message that Lutz had safely arrived on Spitsbergen and that he would write later, giving more detailed information about how the trip had gone, about the problems that had arisen, and about the situation he had encountered on Spitsbergen.[95]

Work conflicts arose before they even arrived on Spitsbergen. There was a group of German workers and office personnel among the employees hired by Nespico, as well as problems regarding salary agreements with Nespico's workers, partly due to political tensions in Norway at the time. Lutz tried to arbitrate the conflict by offering higher wages, but some of the workers were not satisfied and continued stirring up the whole group. In the end, Lutz decided not to take these agitators to Spitsbergen. Transporting men and materials from Norway to Spitsbergen was another problem. According to Lutz, Nespico's agent in Tromsö, Mr. Lenne, was not doing a very good job. The problems with the employees and the transportation were significant enough to warrant an appeal to the German consul, Davidson, for help, and his interventions were successful.

Lutz regularly sent messages to Nespico's office in Rotterdam, indicating what materials he needed and how the start-up operations were progressing or not progressing.[96] Very soon it became

94. Letters and documents from the Spitsbergen period are primarily found in: Documentation, L. van Broekhoven. A few letters have ended up in Ako file 427, Correspondence 1909–1928.

95. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Travel documents and correspondence regarding Spitsbergen; Documentation, Mrs. P. van Broekhoven-Löb, Travel documents (passport, visa).

96. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Dossier Spitsbergen: L. Löb, Report

clear to him that Dresselhuijs and the other shareholders wanted to reap unrealistic short-term profits from this undertaking. Coal was being sold in Rotterdam even though the crew on Spitsbergen was nowhere near ready to put an organized production process into operation which would be able to meet these demands. More and more, Lutz felt that he was being confronted with an impossible task. In his letters to Jenny, he made it very clear how much the work situation on Spitsbergen displeased him. But time and time again, he expressed his trust and confidence in God, his source of strength in this difficult situation.

> Green Harbour, June 16–25, 1921
>
> Everything here is in such poor condition—really not usable—it would be much better just to start over and use new equipment than to proceed with this rubble. But that would cost a lot of money, and do they have that?! Up to now, I've received everything I've requested, and via telegram I've been assured of their full support, if only the coal comes. The coal is here, and it's good coal too.
>
> The machines which have been set up are good machines, expensive things, but completely unsuitable for the task which they have to perform. The design of the whole site, inside and out, is as impractical as possible, absolutely useless. It looks like no one who knows anything about the job has ever been near here and, nonetheless, Rotterdam is asking for coal, and now. We're patching things up as best we can, but I don't know how we're ever going to get it in shape without God's help. Once everything is ready—maybe next year, or maybe in a couple years—it'll be nice to work here, but the way it is now, I'm at my wit's end.[97]

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of the arrival of the 2nd Transport Summer Expedition 1921, Nederlandske Spitsbergenkompani, Green Harbour, May 28, 1921, and accompanying letter, May 29.

97. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Dossier Spitsbergen.

Lutz understood that Jenny was lonely and that she missed him—that was part of the reason why he wanted to get home before winter set in. In addition, the problems with the work were becoming more and more obvious, and the relationship with Dresselhuijs was difficult. Lutz realized that certain persons were trying to undermine his position, and he was concerned about his salary being paid, and about supporting his family in The Hague.

> Green Harbour, July 5, 1921
> I only hope that, in the end, he has some good money men behind him, so he can pull it off, otherwise I fear the worst for his future—and ours too. I'm wondering if it wasn't a bit premature on our part to have already furnished the house so nicely. Our living expenses on Obrechtstraat weren't any less, but we hadn't incurred any debts for the house and furniture then. Now we can't do anything more than pray and work.[98]

Lutz read the Mass texts for himself every Sunday, he was faithful to his daily prayers, he prayed the rosary, and he practiced a special devotion to Our Lady of Good Counsel, encouraged by Jenny, who had sent him a holy card with some prayers. He kept to himself and did not take part in the social activities of the workers—he did not want to have anything to do with the drinking bouts on Spitsbergen. Lutz had appropriated the Catholic way of speaking about doing God's will, about subordinating one's own desires to that will, and he applied this faith vision to his own situation. He also showed how concerned he was that his children be raised in the Catholic faith. When he asked how things were going at school, he gave special attention to the preparations for First Communion and the fact that George was going to be an altar boy. For him, it was important to be able to offer his children a good Catholic education. That is

98. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Dossier Spitsbergen, letter from Lutz to Jenny, July 5, 1921.

why they had to go to a good school, and that is why they had to be well groomed and live a decent style of life. All his material concerns were in function of raising his children as good Catholics. In a certain sense, he viewed the fact that he had become involved with the Spitsbergen Company as a matter of predestination, as a grace and an opportunity to enable his family to live as good Catholics. If it should happen that this opportunity did not work out, then God would show him a new way—that was his firm conviction.

> My Darling, keep on praying for us, and offer our future entirely to God, that everything will go according to His Will. All our sorrows and our desire to see each other again—let's offer that as well, and with a glad heart, glad that we're able to do penance for our sins, to do something to merit Heaven. The difficulties are piling up here, just as I had foreseen, and the only way I can calmly and surely go about my business is by continually relying on God's guidance and doing what I believe is God's Will.[99]

Jenny went to church frequently in The Hague, making various devotional practices her own. Lutz warned her not to flit about, which simultaneously revealed his own convictions regarding his faith: he was an intellectual Catholic and regarded faith as being primarily a matter of ethically sound behavior.

It is significant that, by the end of July, Lutz already had a premonition that his job was on the line. He started thinking about new opportunities, and he saw such an opportunity in education. At the same time, he reconciled his desire to raise his family as good Catholics with the fact that, in the future, they would have to live less lavishly. This combination just might be feasible in the predominantly Catholic and (in his opinion) cheaper North Brabant. He wrote Jenny about that idea in September, when it was becoming

99. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Dossier Spitsbergen, letter, September 20, 1921.

more and more clear to him that he would not be able to remain with Nespico for five years, asking her to see if the pastor of their parish, Fr. Van Rooy, would help them out by finding a teaching job for Lutz.[100]

During August and September, the tone of Lutz's letters became more and more somber regarding his prospects with the company on Spitsbergen, but time and time again, he would view his material cares and financial interests in the light of God's Will. He was repeatedly having disagreements with Dresselhuijs, but whenever Lutz would offer his resignation, Dresselhuijs would offer his apologies for the remarks he had made and ask Lutz to stay on with the company. Lutz then became even more resolute in his demands, planning to ask for the large sum of 25,000 Dutch guilders, with interest, retroactive to November 15, 1920, as compensation for his employment to date, as well as a solid contract.

At that time, his family was living on the advance of 6000 Dutch guilders which he had received. If he didn't receive the additional 19,000 Dutch guilders from Nespico within a few weeks, he was going to give up and resign definitively. Actually, Lutz was afraid he was going to have to sue Dresselhuijs to avoid ending up penniless and out in the cold. It became increasingly clear to Lutz that he had put way too much confidence in Dresselhuijs, that he had been quite naïve in going along with the deal without having made any definitive arrangements concerning his own business interests before departing for Spitsbergen. He began to wonder if he and Jenny had not let themselves be too quickly enticed by the attractive financial prospects. The alarming financial instability of the enterprise now made the Löb family's already uncertain material situation even worse. Through all of this, however, Lutz continued to view his situation and his future opportunities as being dependent on God's

100. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Dossier Spitsbergen, letter from Lutz to Jenny, September 9, 1921.

Will (even though he did betray a certain dissatisfaction with the way things had been going in their lives for quite a long time now).

> And if it is God's Will, then we could be living together in an upstairs apartment, or out in the country in a little provincial town, teaching and always being together, and be just as happy as we are now, having a beautiful home but being separated for half a year. Once again, though, we mustn't follow our own wishes: leave everything to God and trust in Him; that's the very best decision.[101]

The financial situation at home became increasingly worrisome, and Lutz urged Jenny to restrain herself. He wondered if she could not get by with less hired help. She had two maids and a nanny, and was living as lavishly in The Hague as she had been able to do in the Dutch East Indies. Lutz realized they would have to bring their expenses in line with their income, but he also reminded Jenny that she needed to make a deposit for the Widows and Orphans Fund.[102]

On August 21, Jenny received a visit from Mr. Dresselhuijs and Mr. Debock, of Nespico. They wanted the contract, including the provisions for the family's rented home, which Nespico had made with Lutz. Up to that point, the contract had only been signed by Dresselhuijs, since it had been drawn up after Lutz was already on Spitsbergen, but according to Dresselhuijs, the payment specifications included in the contract were not realistic. Jenny did not let the men intimidate her, however, and she did not deliver the contract. The two men tried again, this time sending the clerk, Van Ollefen. More intimidations followed. They focused on the cost of the house, claiming that Lutz was too expensive for Nespico, and threatening to confiscate the furniture and discontinue paying

101. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Dossier Spitsbergen, Green Harbour, August 18, 1921.

102. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Dossier Spitsbergen, Green Harbour, August 28, 1921.

Jenny monthly salary advances. When Mrs. Van Lier (wife of Lutz's successor, R. van Lier) claimed that she had rented the house as of March 15, 1921, it became apparent that the Löb family would have to abandon their home, and there was very little Jenny could do about it, since she had no lease. It seems a lot depended on Dresselhuijs getting his hands on Lutz's contract, for he made a counterproposal—it goes without saying, not drawn up in writing—to pay Jenny 1000 Dutch guilders per month if she would give him the contract.[103]

It is understandable that these visits and the intimidation caused Jenny to panic a bit, but Lutz entirely approved of her not handing over the contract, expressing his suspicions that Dresselhuijs was trying to figure out "how he can get rid of me with the least losses, if he wants to dismiss me."[104] In the meantime, it had become clear to Lutz that his contract with Nespico would come to an end within the foreseeable future, like it or not.

Lutz was hoping to return to the Netherlands during September 1921, but he had to wait until certain orders were filled and a ship was available to take him back. Finally, on October 7, he was able to leave, and a week later he arrived in Rotterdam. There were mixed feelings when he saw his family again in The Hague. Jenny and the children were certainly glad to have him back, safe and sound; he was healthy—on Spitsbergen he had not had any problems with rheumatism. But the whole undertaking had really been a big failure, which would continue to take its toll for a long time yet, especially financially. When Lutz returned to the Netherlands, though, those dramatic consequences were not yet immediately obvious.

103. Ako file 426, Undated correspondence: notations made by Jenny Löb-van Gelder (November 1921).

104. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Dossier Spitsbergen, letter, September 9, 1921.

Lutz continued to work for Nespico as an advisor until January 1, 1922,[105] while his former colleague, Rudolf van Lier, became his successor as manager-director. Lutz corresponded with Van Lier about the work on Spitsbergen and asked him to intercede with Dresselhuijs to try to get some financial compensation. Van Lier did make several attempts, but Dresselhuijs would hear nothing of it.[106] In November 1921, Jenny had made some explanatory notes about the strange state of affairs surrounding the payment of Lutz's salary, his contract, and Dresselhuijs' promise to compensate Lutz for the debts he had incurred with the Ministry of Colonies, but in the end, Lutz was left empty handed, apparently never having succeeded in collecting the contract provisions.

According to family tradition, Lutz received a sharp scolding from his father, Nathan, after returning from Spitsbergen:[107] Lutz had

105. Archives Mollerlyceum [a school in] Bergen op Zoom, documentation, Ons Middelbaar Onderwijs in Noord-Brabant ["Our Secondary Educational System," an Educational Federation in North Brabant]: Letter of application, L. Löb, February 13, 1922, with a short recommendation by H. H. Dresselhuijs.

106. Ako file 427, letter R. J. van Lier, April 6, 1922; Letter, R. J. van Lier, May15, 1922; Letter R. J. van Lier, December 13, 1922; Letter R. J. van Lier, January 11, 1923.

107. According to C. Heerma van Voss-Loeb and P. van Broekhoven-Löb. Both were of the opinion that Lutz's youngest sister, Thea, was present during this conversation. Lutz would have listened silently to his father's reproaches and then would have left. The question is whether it really concerned this single conversation, during which Nathan pointed out to his son Lutz that he had acted irresponsibly. There is nothing else in the family tradition that would lead one to conclude that Nathan had shown his son the door. Shortly thereafter, Nathan and Lina wrote their son, asking how things were going with the family, especially with the grandchildren. Given the later developments, it seems more probable that Lutz is the one who distanced himself from his family. The family tradition about the "scolding" possibly does contain a grain of truth, but it is also probably an attempt to consolidate the later attitudes about the distance that had grown between members of the family

exchanged his stable position as a civil servant for a dubious enterprise; and from a business perspective, he had handled the matter naïvely and quite irresponsibly. In the aftermath of his conflicts with the Ministry, Lutz asked his brothers Paul and Alfred (who was a lawyer) to intercede for him. He also turned to his family for financial support, initially in order to be able to support his family, and then later to relieve his heavy debts. The correspondence with his brothers and sisters concerning financial support continued as far as 1927 and beyond,[108] clearly revealing the nature of their mutual relationships. His brothers and sisters did help him, but at the same time, Lutz distanced himself from them, seeking contact only when he needed their help.[109]

Shortly after his return from Spitsbergen, the five oldest children received the sacrament of confirmation. It seems they had postponed this religious celebration so that Lutz could be present.[110] Lutz, however, was desperate to find a new job. Remarkably enough, he did not hesitate to apply for another job with the national civil service, this time with the intention of being sent to the Dutch East Indies as a teacher. It is true that Rudolf van Lier had drawn his attention to the possibility; but it is also true that Lutz and Jenny had not been really happy with all the aspects of their lengthy stay in Sawah Loento. However, a teacher in the Dutch East Indies would receive a much higher salary and, considering the family's financial problems, that was probably the primary reason which led Lutz and Jenny to

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into a single significant happening. Nowhere, though, does Lutz's sister Thea mention having been present during this significant conversation.

108. Letters in Ako file 427, correspondence 1909–1928; Akh F Löb 4, Family correspondence 1928–1939; correspondence placed in order by H. van Broekhoven in Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb.

109. Ako file 427, letters from Paul Loeb to Lutz, in response to his request. Paul wondered why Lutz had not had any contact with them from 1923 until 1926/1927, and then suddenly came looking for help.

110. Letter from Fr. Van Rooy, the pastor of the parish in The Hague, who noted the dates of baptism and confirmation in October 1921.

consider returning. Then there was also the fact that Jenny did not feel at all accepted by the Loeb family in The Hague. Lutz and Jenny's secret conversion, followed by their open confession of the Catholic faith, had led to disturbing relationships within the family—at least that was how Lutz and Jenny experienced it.

During the years 1920 to 1929, Lutz carried on an extensive correspondence with various departments within the Ministry of Colonies concerning his return trip from the Dutch East Indies, his leave, the extension of his leave, his sickness, and his resignation request. He pointed out that he had received several salary increases too late and that various payments had not been correct. As a result of his endless recalculations and claims, the Ministry carefully re-examined the case, but the outcome was very unfavorable for Lutz: the Ministry concluded that Lutz had received too much money and that he would have to repay the Ministry. The salary increases which he had claimed—unjustly, as the Ministry later determined—had already been paid between August 1, 1919, and November 1 of that same year, "being the date on which your foreign leave began, and so during that time no further salaries accrued for your position."[111] It goes without saying that Lutz did not agree with this decision, and he appealed to his brothers for help.

There was also a Henk van Arkel who tried to intercede for him. He was an acquaintance, the neighbor of Lutz's father, who had also worked in the Dutch East Indies in the past. It is true that all their efforts did reduce the severity of the decision, but the burden of debt continued to weigh heavily on the family for a long time. On February 20, 1929, the Department of Colonies/Commission for the Dutch East Indies notified Lutz that he still owed 830 Dutch guilders and, considering his financial circumstances, he should repay that

111. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Summary letter, Department of Colonies, 9th Division, Subdivision C No. 4525/ixc. The Hague, September 26, 1924.

amount in monthly installments of ten Dutch guilders.[112] The departure from the Dutch East Indies and the failure of the Spitsbergen adventure had long-term financial consequences for the Löb family.

Weighing the Evidence

There is little known about the inner development of Lutz and Jenny's faith following their baptism. One important reason for this lies in the fact that they initially lived as crypto-Catholics. Later, due to the expected lack of understanding on the part of their families, they did not write much about how they lived their Catholic faith. Looking back, Lutz and Jenny both admitted that they had really missed further spiritual direction after their conversion to the Catholic Church:

> And finally, I would like to add this remark for the benefit of those who direct converts. Just as a child needs the most care during the first years following his or her birth, so too are these years the most difficult for those who are born again through Baptism. Don't entrust them completely to the care of parish priests, who are already too busy caring for souls in general and, even more importantly, who aren't able to keep up with the special circumstances of the convert. Keep in touch with them—they will choose you above others to be their confessor. If you can, make that possible for them. The world, the flesh, and the devil find a chosen object for their attacks in these new converts.[113]

112. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Letter Department of Colonies, Commission for the Dutch East Indies, 3rd division, The Hague, February 20, 1929.

113. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood* [From the Life of a Jew], in: *De Beiaard* [The Carillon] 10, no. 1 (1925): 40.

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We may regard this recommendation as a veiled criticism of Fr. Herman Ermann, Lutz and Jenny's spiritual director during their conversion and baptism, for he had no further contact with them after they moved to South Limburg, nor later, when they were in the Dutch East Indies. Apparently Lutz experienced the first few years after his baptism as a difficult period in his life, in which he missed the support of a spiritual director. In the Dutch East Indies, they had only occasional contacts with some Jesuits, and later with a few Capuchins who cared for the Sawah Loento Mission Station. Later Jenny would regard their period in the Dutch East Indies as a time of stagnation in the development of their life of faith:

> So we went abroad, to a foreign country, to a land where many people no longer lived as Catholics, where a priest came to our area only every now and then. Oh, many of you are familiar with that kind of life: you remain Catholic, you do your duty when the priest is there, you say your morning prayers and your evening prayers, the prayers before and after meals, but the Catholic life—which is precisely what we converts needed—that's what we missed out on.[114]

During the years 1920–1922, Jenny frequently visited the parish church in The Hague, she took her children to the services on a regular basis, and George, the eldest, was an altar boy. Jenny was a "feeling person," interested in aesthetics and music, and it was during these years that she adopted a devotional life of faith, making it her own. On Spitsbergen, Lutz was thrown back on himself completely, as far as his spiritual life goes: he clung to his daily prayers and read the Mass texts and prayers from the missal on Sundays; in this spiritualized way, he felt a part of Catholic liturgical life. Obedience to God's will and the acceptance of God's guidance in his life held an important place in Lutz's spirituality. He regarded whatever

114. Ako file 451, J. Löb-van Gelder, *Na den Doop. Het leven van een bekeerlinge* [After Baptism. The life of a convert].

happened to him, as well as the determinative choices he had to make in his life, as being an interplay between his own efforts and God's unfathomable will. In so doing, he partly laid the responsibility for the complete failure of the position he had held with Nespico in God's hands. He regarded this period in his life as being primarily a trial of purification, perhaps a necessary step along the path to a better Catholic life, in which his business career would become less important, with his mission to raise his children as good Catholics taking precedence. Seen from another perspective, one could term Lutz's behavior as naïve, stupid, and irresponsible, but apparently that was not the image he had of himself.

Surveying these facts, one cannot really affirm that Lutz and Jenny felt at home in the Catholic Church during the first years after their baptism. For that matter, they had been advised to live as crypto-Catholics, and that really made it impossible for them to feel at home in the church. Even though they could openly profess their Catholicism in Sawah Loento, there was no question of anything which could be regarded as "normal" Catholic Church life according to Dutch standards, which meant their feelings of being uprooted continued throughout that period as well. It was only in 1920, when they were once again living in The Hague, that Lutz and Jenny and the children really became involved in parish life and were able to take part in church services without any inhibitions; but by doing so, they were simultaneously distancing themselves from their Jewish relatives. Jenny was convinced that her relatives viewed her expressions of Catholic faith with suspicion, and that she needed to free herself from this familial influence. For Lutz, the months on Spitsbergen were once again a period during which he received little support from others in his life of faith.

From a material and social point of view, Lutz and Jenny continued to maintain a lifestyle appropriate for the prosperous middle class—Lutz's social position and salary placed them within this social milieu. It is clear that it was difficult for Jenny to let go of this standard of living when the burden of debts and the failure of Lutz's job

with Nespico began to weigh heavily on the family. In The Hague, she lived at the social level appropriate to Lutz's expected material position, but their actual situation certainly did not correspond with those expectations.

Lutz and Jenny's stay in the Dutch East Indies would obviously have meant a separation from their relatives on both sides of the family, but due to the war in Europe and a lack of good connections, postal service was difficult and often quite slow, intensifying that separation. The Van Gelder family had split up. When there was any correspondence with them, it was via the Loeb family, primarily through Lutz's eldest brother, Ernst. In order to avoid putting pressure on family relationships, Ernst had advised Lutz and Jenny not to mention their conversion or any of their faith convictions in their letters. The Zionist movement had strengthened Jewish consciousness within Nathan and Lina Loeb's family, and Ernst wanted to avoid any clashes. The story about the crucifix, found in one of the trunks that had been shipped in advance, reveals substantial evidence of a clash. However, for Lutz's relatives, it seems that neither the Löbs' conversion to the Catholic Church nor their profession of the "true faith" was the real problem, but rather the secrecy in which everything had been shrouded for so long. The family felt deceived, especially Lutz's father, Nathan.

According to family tradition, Lina would have initially been spared the shock—nothing would have been mentioned to her—but without a doubt, she eventually did find out, and then the subject of "conversion" became taboo within the family. Lutz and Jenny were of the opinion that their choice of faith necessitated a breaking of bonds with their relatives, or at least reducing them to a bare minimum. In other words, it was Lutz and Jenny who withdrew themselves and their children from their extended family; the Loeb clan did not reject the Löb family. In fact, Lutz's brothers and sisters continued to help him resolve his financial problems.

Looking back on their lengthy stay in the Dutch East Indies, Lutz and Jenny had mixed feelings. It is true that they lived there in

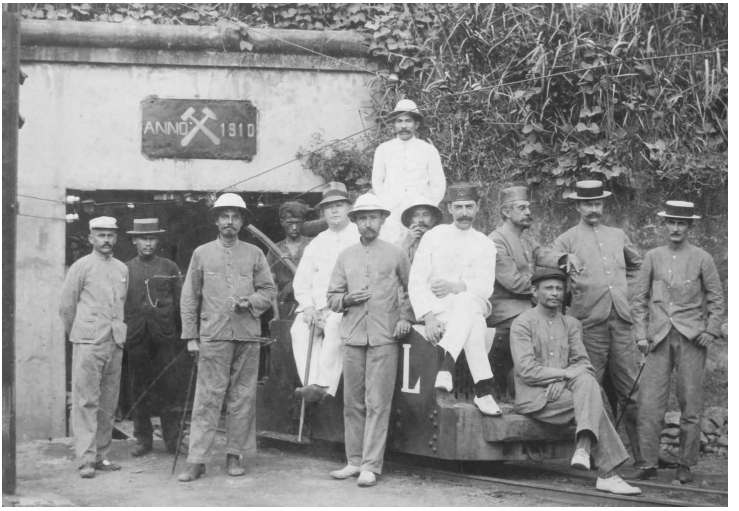
prosperity, but they had felt lonely, both spiritually and socially. Their family had grown quickly while they were there: they had left with three small children in 1910, and they returned with eight children in 1920. During those years, their lives had been marked by the cares associated with births and growing children, their well-being and accomplishments at school and in boarding schools. In addition, some of the members of the family had had health problems: the twins, Wies and Door, were in poor health, and their birth had also left Jenny weak; Lutz was sick in 1917, and his condition was still not good when they made the trip back to the Netherlands in 1919.

Lutz's experiences as an executive mining engineer in South Limburg, in the Dutch East Indies, and on Spitsbergen did not seem to be such that he really wanted to continue in that line of work after 1922. His age and his altered health condition were probably also factors when he began to consider teaching as a future job prospect. He really did need to look for alternatives, since he had a family with growing children to support and there were no financial reserves left over from his colonial period. In any case, joining the Loeb family business was certainly not on his horizon. It seems that the step he had taken in 1901—leaving his father's business to further his education—had been too radical for such a turnabout now. His determinative choices regarding his life and his convictions, especially his conversion to Catholicism, had placed him and his family completely outside this sphere of the Loeb clan—at least that was how he felt.

Lutz and Jenny with their first child, daughter Lien, in Hoensbroek, 1909.

From 1910 until 1919, Lutz worked as a mining engineer in the Ombilin Coal Mine in Sawah Loento on Sumatra in the then Dutch East Indies.

Ombilin Coal Mine in Sawah Loento.



Lutz (fifth from right) wearing a *topi* (a short, rounded cap worn by men in Indonesia), with employees at Sawah Loento.

In Sawah Loento, the Löb family had a spacious home at their disposal. Left: Lutz with daughter Lien; right: Jenny with sons Rob and George.

The family in the garden in Sawah Loento, around 1913. From left to right: Lien, Lutz, a friend, Door, George, Rob, and Jenny with Wies. In the background: two servants.

A formal portrait of the Löb family in Sawah Loento, around 1915. From left to right: George, Lien (with Door in front of her), Ernst, mother Jenny, father Lutz (with Wies), Rob.

4

THE LÖB FAMILY IN NORTH BRABANT

1922–1938

My real Catholic life first began about five years ago when,
back in Holland once again,
I resolved to ignore family objections as much as possible
and to follow the Voice of my God.

Our Dear Lord wants the whole person,
not just half a person who lives half for God and half for the world.

With these words, taken from a lecture given to Catholic women and girls in Bergen op Zoom, probably in 1925, Jenny reveals what she had chosen as a guide for her life.[1] In the Dutch East Indies, her life of faith had been limited to fulfilling her obligations as a Catholic as well as she could, whenever an opportunity presented itself. After their return to the Netherlands, she and her husband and children actively participated in the church life of their parish in The Hague. What did Jenny mean by "my real

1. Akh F Löb 2. Jenny Löb-van Gelder, *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [My Journey to Christ].

Catholic life"? How did her husband feel about this? How did they deal with objections from their families? How did they and their children grow and develop in their faith when they were living in Bergen op Zoom?

Jenny elaborated on the affirmation posited in the second citation during a lecture she gave on Good Friday 1934 as part of the ongoing formation offered to converts in Oosterhout.[2] How did she and her children give form to the ideal which lies behind these words in their own lives? What did Lutz think about this ideal, and what was his role in applying it to their life?

We are beginning this chapter with Lutz's return from Spitsbergen at the end of 1921. Several months later, the family moved to the area around Bergen op Zoom, where Lutz had found a new job.

This is the beginning of a period in which crucial choices were to be made that would be determinative for the further course of life for the entire family. One by one, the children would leave their parents' home, taking paths which would lead them to choose a contemplative monastic life. When Lutz died in April 1935, Jenny left Bergen op Zoom and traveled around for a bit before settling down in Berkel-Enschot, where she herself died in 1938. That was the beginning of a new phase in the life of the children, not so much for those who had entered the monasteries, but certainly for those who were accustomed to their mother's directive and unifying role. For all of them, however, the binding force which their mother was, with her visits and her many letters, was gone.

We can distinguish several different aspects of the lives led by the various members of the family during this period. The perspectives corresponding to these different aspects lead to the division of this period into four sections:

2. Ibid.

1. First we will consider the material conditions (work, income, and other activities) which shaped the lives of Lutz, Jenny, and the children.
2. Then we will look at the family's living situation and their changes of residence, and the consequences these had on their lives, especially as regards the social contacts which were made and then broken. Here we will also consider the changing quality of the relationships among the various members of the Loeb and Van Gelder families.
3. A third important aspect which we will treat concerns Jenny and Lutz's religious beliefs, their church activities, and other religious activities.
4. And finally, we will consider how the children were raised and the choices which were made for them, choices that would determine the further course of their lives. These were all determined by the material, social, and religious contexts of their family life.

These four points indicate that we are going to pass through the period 1922–1938 four times, as it were, each time from a different point of view. Since the various aspects we have listed are interwoven with one another, some occurrences and some bits of information will be mentioned more than once, but each time they will be considered within a different context.

The members of this family lived their lives in the context of the social developments taking place in the Netherlands between the two World Wars. In Bergen op Zoom, they were immersed in the atmosphere of "Het Rijke Roomse Leven,"[3] where Roman Catholicism penetrated all aspects of life. In many ways, the Löb family measured up to the ideal image of the Roman Catholic family, which then held sway.

3. See below, footnote 197.

1. Their Material Living Conditions

1.1 Lutz's Teaching Activities in Bergen op Zoom

While he was still on Spitsbergen, Lutz was already considering looking for a job as a teacher in a Catholic high school when he returned to the Netherlands. He had acquired some teaching experience at the mine's school in the Dutch East Indies, and it seems to have appealed to him enough to ask Jenny to keep an eye out for potential job openings. She in turned asked Pastor Van Rooy for help and advice. Lutz was not the only one who, after a few years of working in the business world, considered exchanging an engineering position for a teaching job. George Wiessing, a friend from his student days who had been working in South America, also had similar plans and wanted to return to the Netherlands with his family.[4]

Shortly after returning to the Netherlands, Lutz started to consider the possibility of becoming a teacher in the Dutch East Indies. In November 1921 he had an interview in The Hague, with members of the Education Commission for the Dutch East Indies for Secondary and Technical Education, concerning the possibilities.[5] In his letter of application he stated that, after years of experience, he had come to the conclusion that he was "better suited to being a teacher than a practical engineer."[6] After the interview, he was notified that he could be presented as a candidate for a teaching position, but he would first have to receive medical approval. The Commission maintained reservations due to the fact that he had worked in the Dutch East Indies in the past and his service contract had not been terminated without problems:

4. C. Wiessing, Documentation, George Wiessing.

5. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter, J. Rottier of the Indische Voorlichtingscommissie [Education Commission for the Dutch East Indies], October 29, 1921.

6. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter, L. Löb to J. Rottier, October 30, 1921.

> Due to the fact that you have been previously employed by the national civil service in the Dutch East Indies, inquiries should first be made regarding the attitude of the Government of the Dutch East Indies concerning your appointment.[7]

Since Lutz thought he had a good chance of receiving an appointment, he replied by return mail, supplying the department which handled his application with a summary of his years of service, which could serve as a basis for determining his beginning salary.[8] It was several months, however, before Lutz received a reply:

> I have the honor of being able to inform you, in the name of the Minister and in conformity with the notification received by telegram from the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, that you cannot be considered for a commission in the Dutch East Indies with an appointment in Secondary or Technical Education in that land.[9]

Lutz did not accept this rejection, but his protests did nothing to make the Ministry change its decision. He was notified that there were no vacancies for a mining engineer in any of the technical schools.

> Shortly thereafter, the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies requested that, for now, no engineers be sent for teaching.[10]

7. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter, Ministry of Colonies, Subdivision b of the 9th Division, to L. Löb, The Hague, December 21, 1921.

8. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter, L. Löb, December 22, 1921.

9. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, letter, February 17, 1922. The telegram mentioned is preserved there as well.

10. Accordingly, there's another letter in Documentation, L. van Broekhoeven, Ministry of Colonies to Mr. L. Löb, Halsterscheweg 46e (sic) in Bergen op Zoom, November 1, 1922.

It is possible that the Ministry's decision had something to do with the problems concerning the financial settlements following his first term of service in the Dutch East Indies. At the conclusion of the mediations, the final decision had resulted in a debt of 830 Dutch guilders to be repaid in monthly installments of ten Dutch guilders per month.

Now that there was no possibility of getting a teaching job in the Dutch East Indies, Lutz looked up Louis Feber, a fellow student from their days in Delft, who was now in The Hague. As a congressman for the Roman Catholic National Party, he had access to the necessary contacts and influence which could help Lutz. He in turn contacted Jos Juten, who had also been a fellow student in Delft and who was now in Bergen op Zoom. Feber knew that Juten was involved with the Catholic Business College, which had been established in Bergen op Zoom a few years earlier,[11] and thought that he might be able to help Lutz get a job.

In 1882, a national secondary school had been established in Bergen op Zoom. In 1900, a minor seminary was started for the benefit of the missionary congregation of the Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.[12] The predominantly Catholic population of this small town, however, had been advocating for broader secondary education based on basic Catholic teaching. The brothers, Willem and Jos Juten, had written

11. *Een kind van z'n tijd. Mollerlyceum: een brug tussen traditie en vernieuwing* [A child of its time. Moller School: a bridge between tradition and renewal] (Bergen op Zoom, 1993). *Jubileumkrant Mollerlyceum OMO Bergen op Zoom, 1916–1966*, October 4, 1966, published by nv Drukkerij van Gebr. Juten, Bergen op Zoom; J. Kalker, Van handelsschool tot lyceum. Ontstaan en ontwikkeling van bijzonder middelbaar onderwijs in Bergen op Zoom, 1916–1956 [From business school to secondary school: origins and development of specialized secondary education in Bergen op Zoom, 1916–1956], in: J. van Vugt, J. Backx, J. Kalker, *Onderwijs. Studies uit Bergen op Zoom* 10, Bergen op Zoom, 1996.

12. *Rijk van het Heilig Hart* 24 (1925): 362–77. 25 Jaar Juvenaat [25 Years Apostolic School].

several articles on this subject in January 1912 in the regional newspaper, *De Avondster* [The Evening Star], which they published in their own print shop. They were of the opinion that the national secondary school in Bergen op Zoom should be transformed into a local school with a Roman Catholic signature, but they were unable to gather sufficient support for their position. The association of Catholic shopkeepers and tradesmen in West Brabant took initiatives toward the establishment of a business school at the secondary level based on Catholic principles and, in 1916, such a four-year educational program was realized in Bergen op Zoom. The printer-publisher, Jos Juten, and the influential entrepreneur, Willem Asselbergs, were on the board of founders. In 1918, this school was incorporated into Ons Middelbaar Onderwijs (OMO) [Our Secondary Educational System], an educational federation in North Brabant, which allowed Dr. Hendrik Moller, the driving force behind this federation, to make his influence felt.[13] He was of the opinion that the primary role of teachers was to provide a good example for students in the domain of faith and morals, advocating that teachers make a yearly retreat[14] to nourish their life of faith and to strengthen their zeal for propagating the Catholic faith. In many of his addresses, Moller took advantage of the opportunity to elaborate his views on this subject.[15]

Jos Juten wanted to combine his membership on the board of founders of the new school with the post of director and teacher, but Moller would not allow that. Juten let it be seen that he was enraged, but that did not lessen his involvement with the school during its first years of growth and expansion. In 1919, two additional years of study were added so that, in addition to a secondary school, there

13. A. van Schaik, *Dr. Hendrik Moller 1869–1940* (Tilburg, 1988).

14. Retreat: withdrawal to a monastery or retreat house for a certain length of time, either individually or as part of a group, in order to occupy oneself with faith-filled reflection on one's own life, usually led by a spiritual director.

15. Archives, Dr. Mollerlyceum, Bergen op Zoom, Minutes of the Teachers' Meetings (manuscript), 76–77.

was also a business college. Finally in 1921, and probably primarily at the insistence of Willem Asselbergs,[16] a five-year secondary school for boys was begun, giving Bergen op Zoom a Catholic alternative which was equivalent to the national secondary school.

All these extensions of the curriculum, along with the increasing number of students, meant that there were various teaching positions to be filled, including teachers for mathematics, chemistry, and physics. Jos Juten let Lutz know about these vacancies and promised to put in a good word for him. From this, Lutz concluded that he would have a chance if he applied, so he wrote a letter to the school board, describing his education and work experience, especially elaborating on his teaching experience at the mine's school in Sawah Loento.[17] He mentioned his position with the Spitsbergen Company, to which he was still under contract at the time, but he did not say a word about the conflicts with his employer. He did emphasize, however, that he felt pressed to find another job for financial reasons: he needed money to support his family.

Lutz attached a reference from Mr. H. Dresselhuijs, engineer from Nespico (with whom he really did not have such a warm relationship, due to the course which events had taken during his "Spitsbergen adventure"), as well as a recommendation from Pastor Van Rooy, regarding his Catholic way of life. The latter was a standard request from the OMO schools, and perhaps it is worth noting that "superior Catholic" was used to indicate Lutz's qualifications.[18] It is also

16. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, letter, J. Juten, July 24, 1967.

17. Archives, OMO Tilburg, letter of Application, L. Löb, 1922.

18. Moller advocated the education of laypersons by teachers who were Catholic through and through. To this end, strict regulations for teachers were drawn up and, invariably, background information would be requested from the pastor of the parish of the teacher who was applying for a position. The crucial question on the standard recommendation form, which began to be used in 1922, was: "Is he/she Catholic through and through, both in his/her personal life as well as in his/her public life?" Usually this question was answered with a short "yes." cf. Kalker, Van handelsschool tot lyceum, 130.

significant that, in Lutz's letter as well as in both letters of recommendation, there is almost no mention of Lutz's qualities as a teacher. Nonetheless, his application seems to have been successful, for he was hired, beginning March 15, 1922. The director, J. Motké, officially welcomed him at a teachers' meeting three weeks later.[19] About this same time, the family had already moved to a rented house in the village of Halsteren on the north side of Bergen op Zoom.

Lutz taught twenty-one classes per week in math and physics, as well as two chemistry lab classes,[20] for which he received a gross monthly salary of about 280 Dutch guilders. At this level of income, his family would be able to permit themselves much less than they had in the Dutch East Indies, where Lutz was once earning as much as 700 Dutch guilders per month. Despite the fact that he had been earning much less when he was working for Nespico, his family had continued to maintain their earlier spending habits throughout that period as well. This quickly began to catch up with them, and now Lutz and Jenny would have to take a giant step backwards. In the course of the years, Lutz's teaching salary would increase, but the family's income was much lower now than they had been accustomed to receiving in the past, and it would remain so. In 1923, when Lutz was also teaching chemistry to the upper classes in the secondary school, he was appointed to teach thirty classes and three lab classes. In later years, he usually taught twenty-eight classes per week. In addition to the exact sciences, he also had to teach merchandising in the business college for a while. From 1920 until 1925, the school offered a three-year secondary education program for girls, but this had to be closed due to lack of interest. Lutz was vice-director of this program during the school year 1923–1924, while his oldest daughter, Lien, was a student there.

19. Archives, Dr. Mollerlyceum, Bergen op Zoom, Minutes of the Teachers' Meetings (manuscript).

20. Archives, OMO Tilburg, letters from J. de Cock to P. Steffen, September 3, 1998, and April 6, 1999, with enclosures.

From 1927 on, he taught a total of thirty classes per week in the secondary school and the business college. When a second math teacher was appointed in 1931, Lutz's total number of classes was reduced, and consequently his salary as well, but apparently neither he nor Jenny minded by that time. By then the family expenses had also decreased, since several children had grown up and left home. It also meant that Lutz had more time for other activities, such as study trips and translation work.[21]

During the initial years, the school's financial situation was quite uncertain due to the fact that the number of students varied greatly from one year to the next. This also had implications for the school's accommodations, which were really inadequate, with few prospects for improvement. Such conditions obliged the school to choose co-education, teaching boys and girls in the same classes, especially when a separate secondary school for girls proved not to be viable. Coeducation, however, was in no way in keeping with the moral standards applied by the directors of the OMO federation, which led to friction between the directors of the school and the directors of the OMO.

Lutz was not really happy with this situation, so, until 1927, he continued applying for other jobs. His salary, in combination with the needs of a family with growing children, was probably a second reason which led to his seeing if he could not find something better. In addition, it seems that Lutz really was not satisfied with teaching as a profession. He did not seem to be able to fulfill his real ambitions in that role. First of all, he tried to get a commission to return to the Dutch East Indies as a mining engineer, but that did not work out. By then, he had turned forty-five and he was told that they "only needed young engineers."[22] It is rather extraordinary that Lutz would apply for a job with the Ministry of Colonies while he was still at loggerheads with them regarding his financial obligations. In

21. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, September 24, 1931.

22. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Telegram, Van Heek in Bandoeng to L. Löb, July 6,1926.

1927, he tried to become the director of the Technical Secondary School in Heerlen, but this application did not result in anything either. In the meantime, his children were going to school in and around Bergen op Zoom, and his wife, Jenny, had also found a place for herself in the local Catholic parish and cultural life—that would have been a good reason to forgo any further applications. In addition, the school situation in Bergen op Zoom had greatly improved by then. Thanks to the efforts of J. Smits, who had been appointed director in 1924, they were able to move into a new school building in 1928. The festive opening ceremony, held on May 21, 1928, was attended by Msgr. Hopmans, the bishop of Breda, Mr. Waszink, the Minister of Education, Dr. Moller, chairman of the OMO, and many other prominent figures. Among the speakers on that occasion were several members of the influential Asselbergs family, industrial entrepreneurs in Bergen op Zoom, who were also members of the school board, the building commission, and the city council.

This development meant greater job security and stability for Lutz, all the more since the number of students now began to increase steadily. As a chemistry teacher, he now had the use of his own well-furnished laboratory in the new building.[23] But more than just teaching classes, he wanted to share a certain ideal of devout piety with others by means of his behavior, which he did, for example, by ensuring that the school had a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[24]

He felt more satisfaction in sharing his faith than in being a teacher. According to some of his former students, it was rather obvious that Lutz really was not an educator and that teaching was a real challenge for him.[25] Despite the fact that two of his children, Lien and Hans,

23. *Gedenkboek Mollerlyceum, Een kind van z'n tijd. Mollerlyceum: een brug tussen traditie en Vernieuwing* [A child of its time. Moller School: a bridge between tradition and renewal], Bergen op Zoom, 1993, photo, 68.

24. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, June 6, 1929.

25. Letter from Mr. M. Haman, retired pharmacist, to P. Steffen, Terneuzen, October 6, 1998.

were later taught by their father, they never mentioned anything about him as teacher in their letters. What was mentioned, however, was the fact that Lutz demanded a lot from his son Hans. It would have offended Lutz's sense of justice and equity if he were to have given his son a grade which he had perhaps not completely earned.[26]

1.2 Other Activities and Secondary Sources of Income

In addition to his work as a teacher, Lutz occupied himself with technical inventions during the first few years when the family was living in Halsteren. These experiments did not lead to any inventions which actually yielded any financial profit, but they did give him the opportunity to apply the experience he had gained while working in the Patent Office. He was in contact with Goossens's factory in Bergen op Zoom for a while, regarding one of his inventions, but it never came to anything.[27]

Lutz also asked Fr. Van Rijckevorsel, whom he had met in the Dutch East Indies, what he thought of the idea of setting up a boarding-house for girls from the Dutch East Indies who would come to the Netherlands to go to school for a few years. Lutz thought this might be a good way to earn some money. However, he was told that very few girls were being sent to the Netherlands to study since the level of secondary education in the Dutch East Indies had improved by that time.[28] So Lutz dropped that plan as well.

His next project was making Dutch translations of German and French books on religious topics, and writing articles for newspapers and periodicals. With the help of Fr. Ermann and Egbert Beekman, Lutz was able to submit several articles to Gerard Brom, editor-in-chief of the Catholic periodical *De Beiaard* [The Carillon]. Brom, however, did not really regard Lutz's texts as being appropriate for

26. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George about Hans, December 24, 1934.
27. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, October 3, 1925.
28. Ako file 427, letter, Fr. Van Rijckevorsel, SJ, to Lutz, April 27, 1927.

his magazine, which he wanted to promote as literary and innovative, witnessing to the Catholic faith in a positive spirit which would be attractive to contemporary men and women. According to Brom, Lutz's texts were really nothing more than empty talk,[29] reactionary and defensive as far as content goes, and for that reason, he added suggestively, better suited for a conservative newspaper such as *De Maasbode*.[30] In addition to the rejection and negative criticism, however, Brom also suggested that Lutz try writing about a specific topic with more depth, with more feeling for nuance. In so doing, he gave Lutz the initiative for his article about conversion from Judaism to Catholicism, partially based on autobiographical data. In 1925, that article would appear in the tenth and last volume of *De Beiaard*. Since Lutz really did want to earn some extra money by writing articles, Brom also pointed out that, due to his successful contribution to *De Beiaard*, he might have a better chance of getting something published in other periodicals, such as "*De Nieuwe Eeuw*, *Opgang*, and *De Maasbode*, which would be able to pay more than our two Dutch guilders per page."[31]

29. Ako file 427, letter, G. Brom to Fr. Ermann, on the feast of Saint Thomas (July 3) 1923 or 1924.

30. Was Brom alluding to J. H. Boas's anti-Semitic and politically conservative articles in *De Maasbode*? Boas was a Jewish convert who did his best to portray Judaism in a negative light, in order to show that he was a good Catholic and, without any doubt, had done the right thing when he converted. One cannot impute such an anti-Jewish attitude to Lutz. Cf. Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], 186–89. Nonetheless, Brom did correctly typify Lutz as a convert who dismissed modern society and who viewed the Catholic faith as the remedy for all of society's anxiety and stress. Lutz viewed the re-Christianizing of society as his mission, a trait which he held in common with many converts of the time. Cf. P. Luykx, "Bekering en wetenschap," in: M. Derks, et al., *Het licht gezien. Bekeringen tot het katholicisme in de twintigste eeuw*, 14–36, especially 28.

31. Ako file 427, letter, G. Brom.

In 1925, Lutz wrote a brochure under his Jewish name, Juda, entitling it *Jood of niet? En zoo ja, dan . . . Een vraag stellen is haar half beantwoorden* [Jewish or not? And if so, then . . . Asking a question is already half of the answer], which (probably through the mediation of Fr. Ermann) appeared in a series published by the Geert Groote Society, in cooperation with the Apologetic Association Petrus Canisius. This essay was intended to convince Jewish readers that Christianity, and especially Roman Catholicism, was the logical extension and culmination of a sincerely lived Jewish faith. The Jesuit Fr. G. A. de Jong was an advocate of the formation of a special commission within the Apologetic Association which would direct its efforts toward what was referred to as the Israel Apostolate. Shortly before, he himself had published a brochure about the mission of the Jews in this same series, and now he wrote a positive review of Lutz's brochure.[32] This common interest led to personal contact, through which Lutz and Jenny became involved with the Israel Apostolate. The brochures were intended to be propaganda material, so the cost was kept low: ten cents. Lutz probably did not earn much from writing it. We will return later to the content of this brochure, as well as to Lutz and Jenny's involvement with the Israel Apostolate and Fr. De Jong.

After writing these articles, Lutz devoted his efforts primarily to translation work. His former colleague, Rudolf van Lier, knew that Lutz had a good knowledge of languages and had mentioned the possibility to him earlier.[33] During the years 1927–1930, the director of his school, the already mentioned Smits, helped Lutz learn to read and translate Latin. With this knowledge, he was able to study theological works, especially those concerning ascesis and spirituality. Via Fr. De Jong, Lutz came in contact with the German Jesuit Fr. Otto Cohausz (1872–1938), who was then a well-known author

32. In the "Announcements" column of the periodical *Studiën* [Studies], published by the Jesuits, 1925, 147–51.

33. Ako file 427, letter, R. van Lier to Lutz, January 11, 1923.

in the area of Christian spirituality.[34] Lutz corresponded about the possibility of translating the works of Cohausz and placing them on the Dutch market. He did receive Fr. Cohausz's approval, but the envisioned result ultimately came to nothing, probably because Lutz could not find a publisher who was prepared to cooperate in the endeavor.

The increasing contact which Lutz had with the Trappists of Koningshoeven Abbey and with their abbot, Dom[35] Simon Dubuisson, led to the translation of a book by the French canon,[36] A. Saudreau (1859–1946), which was published by Koningshoeven in 1928 under the title *Ideaal Zieleleven* [The Ideal Life of the Soul]. There is no information extant concerning possible remuneration for the translator. Several years later, in 1932, Lutz translated dogmatic texts by the then renowned theologian Ad. Tanquerey from Latin into Dutch. This translation was intended to offer more depth to catechists[37] who were members of the Eucharistic Crusade (abbreviated "EK," for the Dutch, "Eucharistische Kruistocht"), for use during their meetings when they were giving instruction in the faith, primarily to working girls. In 1933, a translation of a French biography of Dom Columba Marmion, OSB,[38] was also published by Koningshoeven.

In 1934, Lutz was asked to make corrections in a manuscript consisting of a hundred meditations written by the Trappist Albertus van der Heijden. This involved not only grammatical corrections but also

34. For information concerning this contact, see below, section 3.3, regarding Jenny and Lutz's religious beliefs and their growing interest in contemplative life.

35. Dom: a form of address used by the Trappists for the abbot; short for the Latin "dominus," lord.

36. Canon: here we mean a member of a cathedral chapter, composed of clerics who advise the bishop and assist him in the government of the diocese.

37. Catechists: those who offer instruction in the faith.

38. OSB: abbreviation for *Ordo Sancti Benedicti*, the Order of Saint Benedict, Benedictines.

suggestions for content and presentation. At the time, it seems, Lutz was regarded as an expert in the field within the circle of Trappists in the Netherlands and Flanders.

This translation and editorial work reveals Lutz's interest in theological study, but nothing points to his ever having received any substantial financial profit from his work in this area. On the contrary, his studies and the acquisition of the necessary books would have cost money rather than yielded income. Alongside, and in connection with, his teaching position, Lutz was an active volunteer in administrative work for the church—we will discuss the content of this work later, when we consider his religious beliefs and the activities which they inspired.

Jenny was active primarily on the socio-cultural level. She had studied as a pianist in Amsterdam, and she now gave piano lessons to several young girls who came from wealthy families in Bergen op Zoom.[39] At first, she taught her students in their own homes. In 1925, Jenny and Lutz bought their own piano[40]—it seems that they were able to afford that despite their weak financial situation. The purpose was to enable Jenny to give more lessons at home, and so to increase her income a bit. However, her income continued to be quite limited, certainly not enough to have covered the cost of the piano. The piano served primarily for regular rehearsals with singers and small choirs who performed as part of the local cultural society, "Thalia." Jenny took part in several concerts given by the music association, "Vrueghdenbloem" [The Flower of Happiness], led by A.

39. Aldus F. Gieles, "Het joods-katholieke gezin L. Löb woonde 14 jaar in Bergen op Zoom" [The Jewish-Catholic family L. Löb lived in Bergen op Zoom for 14 years], *De Vreugdebloem* [The Flower of Happiness] 4, no. 2 (March–April 1985); A. van Duinkerken, "Het gezin Lutz Löb" [Lutz Löb's family], *Elseviers Weekblad* [Elseviers Weekly], (February 1, 1947).

40. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Purchase Piano with Beethoven bench (February 2, 1925), invoice, rental contract, and guarantee (March 30, 1925).

Gieles,[41] but around 1930, she gave indications that she was going to discontinue these public performances. She helped direct several plays which were given as part of the Eucharistic Crusade, but this was also unsalaried church work. Similarly, she was also involved in charitable activities, such as offering maternity care.[42]

Later Jenny was asked to help give instruction to converts in Oosterhout.[43] She gave them several conferences, but she would not have received much more than a word of thanks in return. Fr. G. de Jong made it known that he was interested in publishing Jenny's conferences. This would give her a bit of income which she really could use when, after Lutz's death in 1935, she no longer had her husband's salary. But the conferences were never actually published.[44]

1.3 The Family's Circumstances

Due to her own class consciousness, Jenny was accustomed to having several servants in their home to help with the housekeeping and raising the children. But while they were still staying in The Hague, Lutz began to realize that, due to the failure of his Spitsbergen enterprise, he would no longer be able to allow very many luxuries. That is why he asked Jenny to get by with fewer servants. At one point, in Bergen op Zoom, the only help they had in their home was Anna, who helped with the housekeeping and the children—the

41. F. Gieles, son of the director, A. Gieles, printed several programs in his periodical, *De Vreugdebloem* [The Flower of Happiness]. Additional Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, volume 1, newspaper review of a concert of "Vrueghdenbloem" in Bergen op Zoom's local newspaper.

42. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, February 18, 1927.

43. We have not been able to find out which group or organization asked Jenny to help with these formation days. The initiative did not proceed from the Benedictines in Oosterhout.

44. Akh F Löb 4. Family Correspondence, 1928–1939, letter, Jenny to George, April 19, 1935. "Fr. De Jong, SJ wants the little manuscript 'Na mijn doop' [After my baptism]. He wants to publish other things. I'll get a nice sum for them."

image of a family belonging to the upper class made it only proper to have at least one maid in the home. However, even that became too expensive, and Anna was "done away with" as they put it.[45] Even so, at a later date, Jenny did have another maid to help during the day,[46] and for the rest, she would still be able to ask her daughters Door and Wies to help with the housekeeping chores for a number of years yet.

It probably never occurred to Jenny that there would be additional expenses involved when she took Marietje Netten into their home as a newborn baby in 1925. Marietje's mother had died during childbirth, and since her father had a dubious reputation, Jenny made arrangements with the pastor and the sisters at the orphanage for the newborn child to be received into her own family. Later Jenny would turn this experience into a romanticized story.[47] Within the Löb family, Marietje was given the name "Deetje" ["Little Dee"], after the Indonesian custom of calling the youngest child "Adée."

In those days, it went without saying that the children of a teacher would go on for further studies after completing their elementary schooling, instead of being sent to work in the factories, as was customary with children born into workers' families. The oldest son, George, who wanted to be a missionary, could be sent to the apostolic school[48] of the Priests of the Sacred Heart in Bergen op Zoom, where he studied for several years as a boarding student. The second son, Robert, also felt called to be a missionary, but he was not considered suitable for priestly studies. In 1923, he was accepted at the boarding school of the Marist Fathers in Hulst,[49] where he would be taught a

45. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, September 23, 1927.

46. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, June 11, 1929.

47. Ako file 451, *Marietjes komst* [Marietje's arrival], manuscript.

48. Apostolic school: an institute providing secondary education to youths who give promise of a monastic or ecclesiastical vocation.

49. Marists: this teaching congregation had fled from France due to the laws restricting religious life. They wanted to educate boys who would be able to be active in the missions as priests or brothers.

trade, probably so that he could be sent to the missions as a Marist Brother. About this same time, the oldest daughter, Lien, was attending the three-year secondary school for girls in Bergen op Zoom. Later, she would go to the teachers' school run by the JMJ sisters[50] in Hoogerheide as a boarding student. The twins, Door and Wies, went to the boarding school run by Franciscan sisters[51] in Etten-Leur, in preparation for possible admittance to a teachers' school. The other children—Ernst, Hans, and Paula—were still in elementary school during the 1920s. It must have posed quite a problem for Lutz to get enough money together to pay for further studies for the older children. It is only logical that he would have tried to get money back which he had loaned to Jenny's brothers, and that he would negotiate with the Ministry of Colonies to be relieved of his debts. Their financial difficulties were also to blame for the fact that the family could not afford their own home and had to live in rented houses.

With this as background, it is also understandable why Lutz would have been attracted by the fact that entering a monastery usually included the possibility of pursuing one's education at the cost of the order or congregation. This material motive certainly played a part when, in 1926, Lutz met Dom Simon Dubuisson, abbot of Koningshoeven, the Trappist monastery near Tilburg, and discussed with him various possibilities for his sons. The abbot made it clear that George would receive further studies in the monastery if he entered, and that the monastery would pay for the younger son, Ernst, to go to the Catholic secondary school in Echt, as preparation for entering the monastery and further priestly studies.

In the meantime, the financial problems had become so severe, and the negotiations with the Ministry had yielded so little success, that

50. JMJ: a Dutch congregation of sisters devoted to Jesus, Mary, and Joseph; a teaching order.

51. Franciscan sisters: these were Franciscan tertiaries who taught school and cared for the sick.

Lutz, at his wit's end, turned to his family for help.[52] Although he had not been in touch with them for several years, he now laid his problems before his brother Paul, who had taken over the business in The Hague and (as far as business matters went) the regulatory role of their father, Nathan, as well. Paul did not leave Lutz out in the cold, but he did imply that Lutz's behavior struck him as being quite singular. Paul and their brother Alfred, who was a lawyer, negotiated with the Ministry for a favorable repayment plan for Lutz. Then they got their brothers and sisters either to lend or to give Lutz some money. At first, Paul was a bit reluctant to lend Lutz anything. He had already given him the furniture for their home in The Hague in 1920, and he did not want to end up having to pay off Lutz's debts as well.[53] However, when the others agreed to contribute, Paul also freed up funds to cover the bills and pay off accounts due. In the meantime, Lutz had once again borrowed money to cover the expenses of his children who were away at school, thereby increasing the debt. This clashed with Paul's idea of "common sense," especially when he had just gone to the trouble of setting up such a reasonable repayment plan. From the correspondence, it is not clear whether or not their father, Nathan, was actively helping solve Lutz's problems in the background. In his letters to Paul, Lutz gives the impression that he was planning to repay the loans at some point, but there is no evidence that he ever actually did. By that time, his sisters Johanna and Emma, who were living in Frankfurt and Kiel, were really quite well off, and they could afford to do without the sums advanced. In

52. Ako file 427, letters 1926–1928, beginning with the letter from Paul Loeb to Lutz, December 10, 1926.

53. In March 1927, Lutz still owed the Ministry of Colonies 1488 Dutch guilders in repayment of salaries mistakenly received. He was also behind with premium payments for his retirement fund. In addition, he was spending an exceptional amount of money on education and boarding schools for his children. His teacher's salary wasn't adequate to cover his current expenditures and, at the same time, to repay his debts.

1928, when Lutz wrote that the family was going to move into a larger house on the same street, Emma did wonder about their state of affairs.[54] At that point, it seems that the probably higher rent for the house on the corner was not a problem, which surprised Emma. Another factor, however, was the fact that four of the children were then living in Trappist and Trappistine monasteries, which meant they required almost nothing from the family budget.

Lutz lived a quite sober lifestyle: he did not drink any alcohol, he did not smoke, he did not eat meat, and he dressed quite simply. He did spend money for books, however, and sometimes for travel to monasteries in foreign countries. Jenny was accustomed to a more lavish lifestyle. She had been raised that way, and she had been able to maintain such a standard of living, not only during their stay in the Dutch East Indies, but also for the first couple of years after their return to the Netherlands. Due to the biting financial situation, however, she sometimes had to adjust her ideas about exterior appearances.[55] Gradually, she too began to live more soberly and to withdraw from the public socio-cultural life with all its outward appearances, although this latter was also partly due to conflicts she had with several of her acquaintances. One of the consequences of this withdrawal was that Jenny grew lonely,[56] which is why she went to visit her children in the monasteries as often as possible.

In 1932, the family once again needed money when Hans left his program of studies in Echt to finish his secondary schooling in Bergen op Zoom. Lutz hinted about this in a letter to Jenny's

54. Ako file 427, letter, Emma to Lutz, December 7, 1928.

55. A comparison of photos of Jenny from the rich years in the Dutch East Indies and from the poor years in the 1930s clearly shows this change in feasibilities and ideas: she makes a rather slovenly impression in photos from the 1930s, while twenty years earlier she had been quite fashionably attired.

56. Jenny continued to have regular contacts with Jackie Juten. It is questionable whether Paula's memory is correct regarding her mother's regularly drinking sherry or port with Aunt Jackie.

brother, who still owed him money,[57] but the correspondence gives the impression that Lutz was never repaid.

At the end of 1934, Lutz learned that he had prostate cancer and was treated with radiation therapy at the hospital in Middelburg. The treatments themselves, as well as the cost for hospitalization, added even more to the family's expenses: every X-ray cost ten Dutch guilders, and he had to pay 8.50 Dutch guilders for each day he spent in the hospital. In addition, he was now on unpaid sick leave from his job at the school, and a replacement for him had been appointed,[58] which, combined with the extra expenses, once again led to financial problems. It seemed that the radiation treatments had helped Lutz and that he was recovering, so he himself wrote the boys, saying that he would not leave it to Jenny "to prove that I'm on the mend. In a couple of weeks, I hope to be fully recovered. Then I'll have to go back to Middelburg for additional radiation to remove the core of the problem. What my problem actually is—well, we'll talk about that later with all of you in Tilburg."[59] Jenny did not say much to her children about Lutz's sickness; she simply said that he was slowly recovering.[60]

Lutz had to return to Middelburg in March 1935 for a second series of ten radiation treatments, and Jenny accompanied him. The radiation did not help, though, and Lutz's condition deteriorated rather quickly. He returned to Bergen op Zoom and was admitted to the hospital there, where he died on April 6, 1935, not even fifty-four years old.

Jos Juten helped Jenny make all the arrangements for the funeral, which was held on April 10. A great many attended to honor Lutz's memory, with the women remaining in the church, praying, while only the men went outside for the burial procession. It is rather

57. Ako file 427, letter, August 24, 1934.
58. Ako file 429, Lutz to the girls in Chimay, February 13, 1935.
59. Ako file 429, Lutz to the boys, February 16, 1935.
60. Ako file 429, Jenny to George, February 25, 1935.

significant that photos of the burial procession were taken, as if it were the burial of a famous personality.[61] One of Lutz's colleagues, the art teacher Gieles, designed his headstone. Within the family, the story goes that Dom Simon had agreed to pay most of the costs associated with the funeral and the headstone,[62] but we haven't been able to find any evidence of this. In any case, Gieles's design for the headstone was realized.[63]

Jenny received a great deal of assistance from Jos and Jackie Juten during this difficult period. With Jos Juten's help, she found a smaller, affordable place to live in Bergen op Zoom—all she had was a small pension in addition to a widow's pension.[64] A possible claim to funds, which had been released within the Loeb family, was very briefly considered, but Jenny was quickly dissuaded from the idea of pursuing those claims. After all the financial support they had already received from Lutz's brothers and sisters—which they had probably

61. The photos were probably taken by someone from the local newspaper. On April 11, 1935, a short notice about the death and burial was published, but without a photo. It is possible that the photos of the burial procession were made for the children in the monastery.

62. Nothing regarding this has been found in the documents left behind by Dom Simon, nor in the account books, but that does not mean that the oral tradition is not true. During the war, Dom Simon ordered the destruction of a number of unspecified documents which could possibly become incriminating evidence in the hands of the occupying forces.

63. After the war, sometime between 1945 and 1955, his grave was cleared and the headstone disappeared. In the Netherlands, there is a tax for "grave rights," which has to be paid if a grave is to be preserved. After about ten years, this was probably not paid. After all, who was left to pay that tax? There was no family anymore, and Paula and Harrie did nothing further.

64. Director Smits and Mr. Buys made these arrangements for her. It amounted to about 2,000 Dutch guilders per year for her and her children Hans and Paula. She received no orphan's pension for Deetje. Ako file 429, letter, April 19, 1935.

not repaid—it would have been really presumptuous to demand a share of the family funds now.[65]

Jos and Jackie Juten continued to help Jenny after Lutz's death. In 1936, when the oldest son, George, was to be ordained to the priesthood, Jenny wanted to give him a chalice. George was able to talk her out of spending a lot of money for it[66] but, in the end, the Juten family saw to it that George did receive a chalice as an ordination gift, with the help of their generous contribution.

Jenny had moved into a smaller house after Lutz's death, but she really did not feel at home there. She was also traveling a great deal during that period, and construction had begun on the new Trappistine monastery in Berkel-Enschot, where her daughters, who were then in Chimay, would be moving. That was certainly a good reason for Jenny to apply for several rooms in the Gerardus Rooming House in Berkel-Enschot and to leave Bergen op Zoom for good. Before she was able to move into the rooming house in 1936, Jenny and Paula and Deetje, as well as Hans, were able to spend several months in Tilburg with a family who were their friends. Jenny died in 1938, after a short illness, and was buried in Berkel-Enschot, near her children.[67] A headstone was placed by her grave but—in contrast with Lutz's headstone—there was no special design made. Once again, it is presumed that Dom Simon covered most of the costs.

65. Akh F Löb 4. Jenny, writing from Lustin sur Meuse, to George, May 29, 1935. It had to do with Lutz's share of the inheritance from the sale of the house on De Ruyterstraat in The Hague, where Nathan and Lina had lived. Fredi and Paul reminded Jenny of the financial assistance already received and asked her why she was only then inquiring, since the house had been sold in 1928. Jenny wrote her son George that she just could not handle so much legal fuss, and he advised her to forget about going to any more trouble. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, October 16, 1935, and his response, January 1936.

66. Ako file 430, letter, George to mother, May 25, 1936.

67. After the war, her grave was cleared and the headstone disappeared. See footnote 63 for further explanation.

2. The Family's Living Situation and Their Contacts with Their Extended Family and Friends

2.1 Housing

In 1921, the Löb family was living in a rather posh neighborhood in The Hague, in a house rented by Nespico, and with furniture provided by Lutz's brother Paul Loeb.[68] However, Lutz's problems with Nespico forced the family to look for another place to live. Once Lutz had been hired as a teacher in Bergen op Zoom, Jos Juten took care of finding a place for the family to live in that area. In March 1922, they were able to move into a house on Halsterseweg 107 (D76 in the old numbering), on the edge of the village of Halsteren, near Bergen op Zoom.[69] Lutz had to bike a half hour to get to the school where he was going to be teaching.

Soon after moving into the house on Halsterseweg, the family received a visit from Anton C. van Dijk,[70] the associate pastor from

68. On September 9, 1921, Lutz wrote Jenny that he had initiated legal proceedings against Nespico in an effort to get money, so that he could repay Paul for the household furnishings. Nothing ever came of that, though, and Paul regarded the furniture as a gift. Documentation, L. van Broekhoven, Spitsbergen documents.

69. Information provided by the municipality of Bergen op Zoom. Letter from Mr. J. van Loon to P. Steffen, April 22, 1998. According to the information provided, the family would have moved into this house on April 4, 1922, but in fact the family had already been living there several weeks earlier.

70. Antonius Christianus van Dijk was born in Ginneken on March 5, 1887. He was ordained a priest for the diocese of Breda on June 1, 1912. In 1922, he was associate pastor of the parish of the Holy Martyrs of Gorcum on the north side of Bergen op Zoom. On April 25, 1925, he entered the Trappist monastery of Koningshoeven and received the monastic name of Leo. He died on October 12, 1967. It is possible that Associate Pastor Van Dijk was responsible for the liturgical celebrations for the Carmelite sisters, and that may have been how he came in contact with the Löb family. In addition, the parish church of the Holy Martyrs of Gorcum was closer to where the Löb family was living on Halsterseweg than the parish church in Halsteren.

the neighboring parish of the Holy Martyrs of Gorcum on the north side of Bergen op Zoom. He continued to visit the family on a regular basis and came to feel quite at home with them, so that Jenny almost regarded him as her own son.[71] Van Dijk stimulated George and Rob's interest in the missions and in studying for the priesthood.

Moving to Halsteren meant that they now lived quite a distance from most of the members of the Loeb family, and thus out of sight. However, even when they were living in The Hague, Jenny had not paid much attention to the Loeb family's attitudes regarding religion. She had regularly attended the parish church there with her children. When they first moved to Halsteren, they still had written contact with Lutz's parents, but this gradually ebbed away.[72] The visits and letters were so seldom that Grandma Lina, in a letter to her son Lutz, wondered if Jenny and the children had forgotten them.[73]

Lutz's youngest sister, Thea, had become engaged to Abel Herzberg,[74] a Jew originally from Eastern Europe. Her mother, Lina Loeb-Rubens, did not see anything at all favorable in this match, and she made that quite clear. Her visit to the home of Abel's parents had given her the impression that it was nothing more than a "miserable mess."[75] Nathan, however, adopted a more favorable attitude, knowing how to appreciate his ambitious son-in-law, and this appreciation was mutual. So in spite of mother Lina's protests, Thea and Abel were married in 1923 in a traditional Jewish ceremony with "a chuppah in the shul" ["a canopy in the synagogue," under which the wedding blessings are recited]. They invited their families. Lutz and Jenny attended the

71. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, January 2, 1927.

72. Ako file 427, several letters in Correspondence, 1922–1923.

73. Ako file 427, letter, Lina Loeb-Rubens to Lutz, 1922.

74. A. Kuiper, *Een wijze ging voorbij. Het leven van Abel J. Herzberg* [A wise man passed by. The life of Abel J. Herzberg], Amsterdam, 1997.

75. A. Herzberg, *Letter aan mijn kleindochter* [Letter to my granddaughter], Amsterdam, 1997.

ceremony, but without the children.[76] This, however, did not mean that there was a warm relationship with Lutz's brothers and sisters. In a birthday card, Thea complained about hearing so little from Lutz.[77]

In Bergen op Zoom, Lutz and Jenny built up a new circle of friends, composed of Lutz's colleagues from school, the various pastors and associate pastors in the area, and other people involved in Catholic social and cultural activities. They were still in touch with Fr. Ermann and Egbert Beekman, but from a distance. George Wiessing (who was George's godfather) brought his family back to the Netherlands from Bolivia and became a secondary school teacher in Arnhem. He too showed an increasing interest in religious matters, which became apparent when his godson entered the monastery. Lutz spoke with Jos Juten on a regular basis from their very arrival in Bergen op Zoom, but the relationship between Jackie Juten and Jenny was even closer than the friendship between the two men. When most of the children had left home, and Jenny withdrew more and more from public life, Jackie still dropped by to visit her almost daily.[78] In spite of the economic crisis and the prevailing poverty, "Aunt" Jackie gave Paula a camera as a birthday present.[79]

After having lived on Halsterseweg for three years, the family moved to Antwerpsestraatweg on the southeastern side of Bergen op Zoom. This road led from the main roads encircling the city to the new development called Nieuw Borgvliet. Here Lutz rented one of the middle dwellings, number 434, in a row of four houses. In March 1925, the family moved in, only to move again in May 1927, this time to the corner dwelling, number 428. It seems there were serious leaks

76. Ako file 427, letter of invitation from Thea to Lutz and Jenny, January 22, 1923.

77. Ako file 427, Card, Thea, November 15, 1922.

78. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, June 2, 1933.

79. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, December 28, 1933. At home, Paula was called "Pop," which is Dutch for "Baby Doll."

in the roof of house number 434.[80] Jenny experienced this move from 434 to 428, three doors down, as a "comedy"[81]—she probably meant dragging the furniture and other possessions back and forth. They would not live in number 428 very long either, though.

A. M. de Jong lived on Antwerpsestraatweg, close to the Löbs, for a short while. He was a socialist writer who had rejected Catholicism, and the author of a series of novels entitled *Merijntje Gijzen* (the name of the main character in the book), based on life in that region of the Netherlands. The children from both families played with each other, but the adults had little contact.[82]

The Nieuw Borgvliet development belonged to Holy Abbot Anthony Parish, where Vincent Kuijpers[83] had been pastor since 1920. He approached Lutz about participation in the parish conference of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, which eventually resulted in Lutz becoming a member of its board of directors. Through his involvement with this charitable organization, Lutz had regular contact with poor families and disadvantaged youth in the parish. When the Löb family later moved to another part of the city, Lutz remained active in a number of church committees and groups in Nieuw Borgvliet—he got along really well with Pastor Kuijpers.

In December 1928, the family moved to a larger house on Parallelweg 39, "across the street from the train station, on the other side of the tracks, five minutes from Saint Joseph's Church."[84] Lutz's sister Emma asked him, with genuine interest, if he had paid off his debts, since it seemed they could now afford to move into a larger house. Lutz, however, did not answer her question.

80. Ako file 427, letter mentioning the leaky roof, October 14, 1926.

81. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, May 28, 1927.

82. Memories of Paula van Broekhoven-Löb, as told to the authors.

83. Vincent A. M. Kuijpers: born, April 16, 1881; ordained to the priesthood, June 17, 1905; appointed pastor of Borgvliet in Bergen op Zoom, February 17, 1920; retired, April 1, 1959; died, April 8, 1962.

84. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, December 28, 1928.

Children in the streets sometimes made derisive comments about the Jewish background of the Löb children. It must not have been too explicit, however, otherwise Paula would not have gone home and asked her older sister Lien what kind of a strange being a "Jew" actually was. The sister at the nursery school had said something about Jews, but Paula did not have the slightest idea that it might have anything to do with her own family background. Lien told her that she only had to look carefully at father or mother and then she too would have seen a "Jew."[85]

During this period, their circle of acquaintances grew, especially their ecclesiastical acquaintances. The seminarian[86] Willem Asselbergs (who would later become well known by his pen name, Anton van Duinkerken) visited them occasionally at home during these early years. Lutz had close contacts with A. Buysrogge,[87] the chaplain of Saint Anthony's Institution (a nursing home and extended care facility), who was also involved with the religious revival movement known as the Eucharistic Crusade. In addition, Lutz was the faithful director of a group of catechists while Jenny, along with several of her daughters, participated in similar activities. Jenny's involvement with dramatic and musical performances increased her contacts with Catholic groups throughout the city.[88] When their children began to enter monasteries, Lutz and Jenny's circle of acquaintances also expanded. On visiting days, they would meet the parents of their children's fellow students, and closer relationships would develop

85. Paula's written memories in Ako file 427; Letter, Jenny to George, December 23, 1927.

86. Seminarian: someone studying for the priesthood.

87. A. J. Buysrogge: born, September 7, 1881; ordained to the priesthood, June 17, 1905 (classmate of Kuijpers); chaplain of Saint Anthony's Institution and assistant in Saint Joseph's parish from September 2, 1917, on; retired in 1965; died, May 1, 1972. "Chaplain" is the title of an ecclesiastical position.

88. According to Anton van Duinkerken in his article in *Elseviers Weekblad* [Elsevier's Weekly], as well as F. Gieles in his series of articles in *De Vreugdebloem* [The Flower of Happiness].

with some of these families. One example was the Van den Bogaard family in Tilburg. From that family, one son, Guus, would become a Trappist (monastic name: Cyprianus), and one daughter, Dora, would become a Trappistine (monastic name: Gerarda), while another son, Gerard, would go to Tunisia to work as a secular priest.

2.2 Contacts with the Loeb family and the Van Gelder Family

After Lutz and Jenny left The Hague in 1922, there was very little contact with the Loeb family. Lutz's brother Ernst was the only one who occasionally came to visit them in Bergen op Zoom. They all saw each other one more time at Thea and Abel's wedding in 1922, but thereafter contact subsided. Even Lutz's correspondence with his parents was quickly limited to birthday greetings and best wishes on New Year's Day.

Nonetheless, Lutz did not hesitate to approach his brother Paul quite calmly several years later when he was seeking financial assistance. He was appealing to the feeling of solidarity within the family and turning to Paul because Paul had taken over the patriarchal role of their father, Nathan. The fact that Paul was also friendly and approachable probably had something to do with Lutz's choice as well. However, Paul did not conceal his astonishment at Lutz's request and replied quite frankly that he found such a request for assistance a bit strange after so many years of silence.[89] Paul asked for details about the financial problems,[90] and then called his brother Fredi in, since his legal knowledge would be a help in their negotiations with the Ministry. Together, they were able to find a way to rescue Lutz from his financial troubles gradually.[91] On several different occasions Lutz received sums of money from one or other of his brothers and

89. Ako file 427, letter, Paul Loeb, The Hague, December 10, 1926, on letterhead paper "N. Loeb, Noordeinde 107–109."

90. Ako file 427, letter, Lutz to Paul, rough draft, December 11, 1926.

91. Ako file 427, letter, Paul to Lutz, December 26, 1926, and February 1, 1927.

sisters.[92] His older brother, Ernst, had also run into business problems during those same years and was partially dependent on the family's support,[93] so Lutz could not really expect any immediate financial assistance from either him or Thea, but from the others he did expect to receive help. It seems that neither the religious differences nor the distance that had grown between them hindered the members of Lutz's family in any way from responding to his cry for help.

While the Loeb family was providing this financial help, there was also an occasion for contact at a more personal level. It was obvious that Lutz and Jenny could not absent themselves from the celebration of Nathan and Lina Loeb-Rubens' golden wedding anniversary in 1927, even if they really had no desire to attend the festivities. At this point, Jenny did not feel at home with Lutz's family in any sense of the word. She rationalized this with her own moral observations concerning their worldly way of life in which she could not participate, and with negative comments about members of the family who would look down on them.[94] There were other objections as well. With some scrupulosity, Lutz and Jenny had asked their pastor for permission to participate in these festivities with persons of another faith (their own family!) during a time when they were expected to be fasting.[95] Everything considered, they did finally decide to go to the celebration. Jenny bought new clothes, but they were quite

92. Ako file 427, letter, Paul to Lutz, February 3, 1927.

93. Cf. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 88–89.

94. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, February 18, 1927. She mentioned Marianne, the wife of Paul Loeb, calling her the proud woman who, Jenny thought, would look down on them.

95. It is possible that a declaration by the church at the provincial synod of Utrecht also played a role in the reservations which Catholics had regarding their association with Jews. The synod had readopted an earlier regulation, expressing it in slightly milder terms: in 1865, contact was strictly forbidden; in 1924, it was preferable to avoid contact. Catholics who wanted to work for a Jewish family or in a Jewish business were expected to ask their pastor's permission before doing so.

simple. She was consciously avoiding anything fashionable, which she expected her wealthy sisters-in-law would certainly be wearing. Other family members stayed to spend the night, but Lutz and Jenny wanted to keep the visit as brief as possible, arriving in the afternoon and returning home by train in the evening. They did not take the children with them. Their brother-in-law Wilhelm Spiegel along with his wife, Emma, took Lutz and Jenny to the train at the end of the evening's festivities. Lutz and Jenny do not appear in the family photographs which were made on this occasion, which in itself gives a good picture of the relationships.

Lutz's contacts with his parents did increase after attending the celebration of their golden wedding anniversary, since both of them were rather sickly. In June 1927, Lien completed her final examinations at the teacher's school, and Grandpa and Grandma invited her to come and stay with them in The Hague. They also gave her a new suite of furniture for her bedroom, as a present for having passed her examinations.

In 1928, Lina had a stroke, her second. Lutz visited her several times. Aunt Jülchen, one of Lina's sisters, was now staying in The Hague so that she could help care for Lina. She told Lutz that his mother had been delirious and had been raving about a golden cross which beckoned to her in the distance, and about a large, heavy stone weighing on her chest and preventing her from standing up and going to the cross. When Lutz wrote his children about this, he left the interpretation of these images open. According to Jenny, Aunt Jülchen had a certain sympathy for Catholics.[96] On May 12,

96. Ako file 428, letter, Lutz to George, April 28, 1928. The question is whether Lina had such visualizations on her deathbed. It is possible that Aunt Jülchen wanted to heal the breach between Lutz and his mother, Lina, in a symbolic way. The images seem to point to Lina's being inclined to move toward Christianity, but her being held back by a stone, which would have referred to the stone tablets received by Moses, on which the Ten Commandments were inscribed.

1928, Lutz's mother, Lina, died. He received a short telegram message bearing the news: "Loeb, Antwerpschestraatweg 434 Bergen op Zoom. Mama heutemorgen gestorben. Papa."[97] Lutz went to The Hague alone for his mother's funeral, without Jenny and the children.

Nathan Loeb was also in poor health and it was becoming more and more difficult for him to walk. After Lina died, he continued living in their house on De Ruyterstraat with a butler and a maid. On several different occasions, he visited health resorts[98] in Germany, usually extending his stay for a few weeks and visiting one of his daughters who were living in Germany.[99] In December 1928, Nathan was in Wiesbaden for a treatment which would last several months. The doctors had given him reason to hope that he would be able to walk reasonably well following this treatment,[100] but a few months later it seemed as though Nathan did not have long to live. His health continued to swing back and forth. When it became obvious that Nathan was not able to live alone any longer, Paul and Marianne took him into their home.[101] He remained sickly, seldom going outdoors, and this situation continued for years, until he died on December 10, 1940, eighty-six years old. He did not have to endure the worst of the horrors of war and the persecution of the Jews.

During the years between 1926 and 1928, there was a short-lived revival of the relationships between Lutz and Jenny and the Loeb family, but after Lina's death and the gradual resolution of Lutz's financial problems, the contacts once again became less frequent. "We don't fit in with all that wealth and riches anymore. A lovely environment, but cold: I'd freeze there." That's how Jenny viewed her

97. Ako file 428, telegram, The Hague, May 12, 1928, N. Loeb to L. Löb. "Heutemorgen gestorben" is German for "died this morning."

98. Ako file 428, letter, Paul to Lutz, September 10, 1928.

99. This was mentioned, for example, in a postscript which Emma added to a letter from Wilhelm Spiegel to Lutz, November 13, 1927, Ako file 427.

100. Ako file 427, letter, Emma to Lutz, December 7, 1928.

101. Ako file 429, letter, July 1, 1934.

in-laws' living conditions.[102] During 1927 and 1928, Lutz did have an intensive correspondence with his brother-in-law Abel Herzberg, meant to arouse Abel's interest in Christianity, but he did not actually visit Abel and Thea personally in Amsterdam. Lutz also corresponded with his brother-in-law Wilhelm Spiegel, who was a lawyer as well as a prominent socialist politician in Kiel. Wilhelm respected Lutz's religious views, but permitted himself to retain his own critical stance regarding religions and churches. Wilhelm Spiegel's political and juridical activities brought the threat of rising anti-Semitism among the Nazis within the range of vision of the Loeb clan and the Löb family.[103]

Wilhelm was the youngest son of the Jewish merchant Theodor Spiegel, and his wife, Rosa Rubens, who was Lina Loeb-Rubens's oldest sister. In 1905, after completing his law studies, Wilhelm set up his own legal practice in Kiel and married his cousin Emma Loeb, who was ten years younger than he. They had three children—Franz, Rolf, and Hanni—and they could afford to move into a large villa on the edge of the city of Kiel. Due to his social position and wealthy background, Wilhelm's socialist sympathies would not have been expected, and for that reason, the influential conservative circles of Kiel's military personnel (Kiel was Germany's main naval base) viewed him with suspicion. Nonetheless, he was elected to the city council in 1911 for the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). As a confirmed patriot, he voluntarily enlisted for military service when World War I broke out, even though he was thirty-eight years old. He was stationed first in Flanders and later in East Prussia. The Loeb clan kept up with his activities and followed the war developments with a certain sympathy for the German Empire.

102. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, October 13, 1929.

103. Volker Jakob, "Wilhelm Spiegel 1876–1933. Ein politisches Leben—ein ungesühnter Tod" [Wilhelm Spiegel, 1876–1933: A political life—an unexpiated death], in J. Jensen, ed., *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Kieler Stadtgeschichte*, vol. 77, 1991–1994, 109–40.

After the war, Wilhelm showed himself to be an advocate of the Weimar Republic. As chairman of the city council of Kiel until 1924, he held an important political and administrative position. From 1919 until 1922, he took part in the meetings of the Prussian State Council in Berlin. Although he was approached for various high administrative positions in the city as well as the republic after 1924, he chose to remain a member of the city council for the SPD.

Anti-Semitism was growing in Germany during the time of the Weimar Republic, and the Spiegel family experienced the immediate consequences: the windows of their home were regularly broken and "Juda Verrecke"[104] was scribbled on the blackboard in the children's classrooms at school. Many Jews felt more and more unsafe with each passing day and began to flee the country. Not so with Wilhelm Spiegel, even though he increasingly attracted the attention of persons who loathed Judaism. The Loeb family insisted that Wilhelm and Emma come to the Netherlands, but they chose to remain in Kiel.

In September 1930, Adolf Hitler's National Socialist Party was the second party in power in parliament, with the SPD being the first. In Kiel, about 23% of the voters cast their votes for the NSDAP ["Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei" or "National Socialist German Workers' Party"]. Kiel's middle class also gradually began to move toward Hitler, but the Social Democrats tried to offer a counterweight. Wilhelm Spiegel served as prosecuting attorney for

104. The Nazi slogan was "Juda Verrecke," or "perish Judah." The full meaning of "Juda Verrecke" is lost in English translation, though. It is akin to perishing like a "lice-ridden cur." Nazi leaders, among them Joseph Goebbels, Julius Streicher, and Hans Frank, frequently described Jews as vermin in need of extermination. In 1929 Goebbels wrote: "Certainly the Jew is a human being. But then the flea is a living thing too—only not a pleasant one. Since the flea is not a pleasant thing, we are not obliged to keep it and let it prosper . . . but our duty is rather to exterminate it. Likewise with the Jews." http://zionism-israel.com/israel_news/2007/03/david-harris-takes-on-israel-lobby-myth.html, December 22, 2009.

the *Schleswig-Holsteinischen Volkszeitung,*[105] which, on March 18, 1932, claimed that Hitler was instigating a civil war and preparing to take over power. In this legal case, Spiegel summoned, *nota bene*, Hitler himself to appear in court, but Hitler claimed immunity as a member of parliament. The newspaper lost its case. Hitler became chancellor in January 1933, and shortly thereafter the Communist Party was dissolved. In Kiel, the *Volkszeitung* was banned from publication. The threats against Spiegel increased. A high-ranking SS officer publicly called upon young party members to shoot the lawyer Spiegel dead, as a sort of "entrance examination."

During the night of March 12, 1933, around 1:45 a.m., Wilhelm Spiegel was shot to death in his home. The culprits were probably commissioned to carry out the murder by top Nazi leaders in Kiel. Spiegel's Social Democratic friends quickly learned of the murder and distributed a pamphlet the next day, which led the Nazis to suggest that the Social Democrats apparently knew of the murder in advance, and so must have been involved in the murder. Later a communist was arrested and forced to make an admission of guilt, which was retracted shortly thereafter. The actual murderers were never tracked down.

The cremation ceremony was held in Kiel on March 15, 1933, but not many family members were present. Lutz and Jenny sent their condolences, to which Emma later replied in writing.[106] Shortly after her husband's murder, Emma moved to the Netherlands with her sons and her daughter. In the meantime, her sister Johanna and her brother-in-law Alex Paradies had left Frankfurt due to the threatening situation and had settled in Amsterdam, so Emma moved in with them. Psychologically, she never got over her husband's murder, and she became seriously ill. She died on September 23, 1935, and was also cremated. The urn with her ashes was placed next to that

105. *Schleswig-Holstein's People's Daily*, a socialist-oriented daily newspaper in Kiel, the state capitol of Schleswig-Holstein.

106. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, March 24, 1933.

of her husband in the columbarium in Kiel. Her son Franz, who had almost finished his legal studies, emigrated to South Africa in 1936. Her daughter Johanna (Hanni) married the Belgian Jewish merchant Ronnie D. Levie. Shortly before World War II broke out, they went to the United States on vacation, where they remained and set up a poultry farm. Rolf Spiegel worked in De Bijenkorf (a big department store) in Amsterdam. He remained in the Netherlands, going underground in Utrecht with his wife, Margot, and so survived the war.[107]

During these years, the life of the Löb family was marked by one child after the other entering a monastery, but the developments within the social order did not escape them. They were aware of the increasing tension and the political complications. Lutz was sick in bed when he learned that his beloved brother-in-law Wilhelm had been murdered. In sober terms, he let his children know what had happened. Jenny told them that the situation in Germany was terrible and that, in the meantime, Aunt Emma had moved to the Netherlands.[108] A year later, on July 1, 1934, Jenny told her children in the monasteries that it was a "big, filthy, dirty mess" in Germany and that she was worried, saying "if only it doesn't get any worse. The way they rant and rave down there—my, don't we have a peaceful life!"[109] Lutz and Jenny also told their friends and acquaintances what was going on. George Wiessing was deeply moved when he heard the tragic news about Lutz's brother-in-law Wilhelm and his sister Emma.

These doleful happenings did not result in the Loebs going to visit each other more frequently, nor in letter writing to keep each other up to date concerning the ups and downs in their lives. That is why, in 1934, neither Lutz's father, Nathan, nor his brothers and

107. Rolf Spiegel, *Familie Loeb*; E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait].
108. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, April 14, 1933.
109. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, July 1, 1934.

sisters, had any idea that he was so sick.[110] Jenny only let them know when, after an unsuccessful treatment at the hospital in Middelburg, Lutz was taken to the hospital in Bergen op Zoom to die there. His brother Ernst, with his wife, Esther, came immediately to visit Lutz. His brothers Paul, Alfred, and Ernst were present at the funeral, but no other members of the Loeb clan came.

A few years after Lutz's death, Jenny looked back at the relationship with the Loeb clan and how she had experienced it at the time.[111] This was on the occasion of her son Hans being taken in by the family in Amsterdam, especially by Abel Herzberg and Thea. Jenny and Lutz were alienated from the family due to the fact that they thought and lived differently, but at the same time they had continued to hold onto the feeling that they nonetheless belonged together. This alienation was caused by "the wall which our becoming Catholic had erected, and by our decline in social status." According to Jenny, the other members of the Loeb clan attached a great deal of importance to their wealthy lifestyle and social standing: they looked down on Lutz and Jenny. Looking back, however, Jenny did not place all the blame on the others for the split in the relationship:

> Now, it can very well be that Father and I were at fault. We withdrew. That was already true in The Hague, when we were living on J. P. Coenstraat, and it became even worse after the Spitsbergen episode.

But Jenny did feel some bitterness in retrospect:

> They should have approached us then, and taken us in with love, but it was precisely the opposite. They turned their

110. That is what Thea wrote in her letter of condolence. Paul Loeb knew that Lutz was sick, for he had made arrangements for Lutz to have a sofa where he could rest. But perhaps Paul didn't realize how serious it was.

111. Ako file 430, letter, Jenny to Ignatius (George) in Bonnecombe, April 21, 1937.

> backs on us. We were forgotten, ignored. That's what caused the big split. After that, we withdrew completely. But not without suffering, and a great deal of suffering, especially for Father. After all, he had always done his best and he always did remain a good son and brother.

Lutz's debts and the financial support which he requested from his family, as well as the later developments concerning the inheritance, introduced an imbalance in the relationships. "Money causes a great deal of evil in the world and often sows discord." In retrospect, Jenny questioned whether the way she and Lutz had behaved toward the Loeb family was really just: "Is that the way God willed it to be? Or could we have failed on our part?"

Lutz and Jenny's relationships with the members of the Van Gelder family were not any warmer either. Jenny's mother died in 1920, shortly after their return from the Dutch East Indies, and they were all present at her funeral. The limited correspondence which followed was almost exclusively concerning financial matters. It seems that Jenny's brother Bram owed Lutz and Jenny some money. Lutz corresponded with his brother-in-law David about the matter, who acted as intermediary. In 1924, David made it known that, from then on, Bram would pay twenty-five Dutch guilders per month, but this agreement resulted in little or nothing.[112] Lutz even called in a lawyer, A. de Lauwere from The Hague, to collect the debt, which was characteristic of the chilly relationships. David asked Lutz to be understanding in view of the fact that the economic situation was so bad and there was so little money to be earned. Lutz then let him know that he really needed the money to repay his own debts and to support his family. In one of Lutz's letters to David, Jenny had enclosed a photo of their daughters. Aunt Bet, who was living

112. Ako file 427, Correspondence, David, Bram, Lutz, and Jenny: January 20, 1924; July 24, 1924; July 20, 1925; September 11, 1925; August 24, 1934.

with David, thanked Jenny for the photo in a few lines which she added to one of David's letters. It seems that Jenny tried not to let the relationships with her family be completely ruined by financial concerns.

In 1925, Bram sent them a notice, saying that he had passed through his greatest financial difficulties, and shortly afterwards Lutz received ten Dutch guilders. At the time, Bram did not even have a dime left to pay the rent, so he could not send any more money, but he promised that he would begin making the monthly payments of twenty-five Dutch guilders as soon as possible. Nothing came of that, however, and there was no further contact. Bram traveled back and forth a lot and had several different places of residence, in order to avoid his creditors—he had several of them. It was not until 1934 that Lutz once again tried to contact him in order to collect the still outstanding debt of 850 Dutch guilders.[113] That is when Lutz desperately needed the money to pay for the studies of his youngest son, Hans, at the secondary school in Bergen op Zoom, but Bram did not pay the debt. That was his last attempt. Lutz did not pursue the matter any further. In view of these financial difficulties, it is understandable why the presence of Jenny's brothers was not really appreciated at Lutz's funeral. It was only after the fact that they were sent an announcement of Lutz's death.

Jenny herself tried to get the money back from her brother Bram after Lutz died. She looked him up and learned that he had been baptized into the Catholic Church in Mechelen (Belgium), that he had married, and that he would be coming to the Netherlands after Easter. Jenny resolved to visit him then,[114] claiming that he still owed her 1000 Dutch guilders.[115] However, in spite of the sharp tone regarding the money, Jenny did react positively when her brother

113. Ako file 427, letter, Lutz to Bram, August 24, 1934.

114. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to the boys, May 1935, from Chimay and Lustin sur Meuse.

115. Ako file 430, letter, February 16, 1936.

Bram and his wife, Aunt Andrée, said they were glad to have met her children.[116] They were on better terms, to a certain extent, but the problems were still not solved. A few months later, Jenny once again expressed her negative opinion of her brother Bram, quite unambiguously.[117] She wrote him several letters but received no reply from him. Jenny also discovered that Bram had not said anything about these letters to his wife. Nothing was ever paid back, and Jenny commented cynically that it could not have been due to lack of money, for Aunt Andrée had bought a piano, even though no one in the house could play it.[118]

Since her marriage and her stay in the Dutch East Indies, Jenny had also become estranged from her sisters, Bets (Elisabeth) and Henny (Heintje), with whom she had earlier been on very good terms.[119] Her younger artistic sister, Bets, was married to the Catholic Fleming, Pol (Paul) Dom, an artist and portrait painter of not inconsiderable talent.[120] They were living near Brussels with their only daughter, Elise, until they moved to The Hague in 1927. Around the feast of All Saints[121] in 1928, both Bets and her sister Henny tried to get in touch with Jenny, but it was November 1929 before Jenny actually visited Bets and Pol Dom. Thereafter, these two families

116. Ako file 430, letter, June 18, 1936.

117. Ako file 430, letter, November 17, 1936.

118. Ako file 430, letter, January 4, 1937.

119. Ako file 427, letter, November 1928, to George.

120. Paul (Pol) Louis Carel Dom, born in Antwerp on July 4, 1885, studied at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts there. He was a many-sided artist, painting landscapes, city scenes, Antwerp's harbor scenes, portraits, and still lifes. He was also active as a sculptor and illustrator. He provided illustrations for several series of children's and young people's books published by Kluitman, including the well-known series "De Kameleon" [a series of books about twin boys and the adventures they have with their boat "De Kameleon"].

121. This feast is celebrated in Catholic churches on November 1. Jenny used this reference to indicate the date.

visited each other on a more regular basis,[122] probably largely due to the fact that Pol Dom was Catholic. On one occasion, he painted a portrait of Jenny, which was given a place in the Löb's home.[123] A few years later, however, the relationship was disturbed when Jenny got the idea that Pol Dom had become an enemy of the faith (she gave no explanation about what he might have done), that her sister Bets was too worldly, and that their daughter Elise was just capricious. It seems that, after Lutz died, Jenny could find something to criticize in everyone.[124] Her sister Bets died about a year after Lutz, on April 10, 1936.

After her sister Henny tried to "convert" Jenny to Protestantism, their relationship ceased to progress any further. Henny was a singing teacher, living in Amsterdam, where she had been baptized into the Dutch Reformed Church. She had arranged for a preacher to send a conversion letter to Jenny, and Henny herself had sent a brochure about the Christian faith, but Jenny called this "the work of the devil" and did not even consider pursuing this attempt to get in touch. Henny had remarked that Jenny had very little left of that dynamic, independent, free woman which she used to be, and this offended Jenny.[125] A few years later, Henny once again tried to get in touch, but Jenny settled the matter with the remark that her sister was mentally disturbed as a result of an unhappy, childless marriage, and warned her not to try to convert her.[126]

When her brother Barend died in May 1936, Jenny did not go to the funeral.[127] That same year, her brother Eli was getting ready to

122. Ako file 428, letter to George, November 1929.

123. This portrait was inherited by Paula van Broekhoven-Löb, who later sold it to an art dealer. It seems that the frame was valuable. The portrait has disappeared.

124. Ako file 430, letter, Jenny to George, July 24, 1935.

125. Ako file 427. That's how Jenny put it in her letter to George, All Saints' Day, November 1, 1928.

126. Ako file 429, letter, November 21, 1931.

127. Ako file 430, letter, Jenny to George, May 11, 1936.

leave Antwerp and go to India with his wife, Selma, who was of German nationality. Eli and Selma were concerned about the future and chose to leave Europe while they still could. Selma could no longer get her family fortune out of Germany since, by that time, the Nazi regime had already confiscated the possessions of Jews.[128] Jenny was informed of their emigration, but there was no farewell gathering. When Jenny died in 1938, Paula and Harrie van Broekhoven did not invite any of her brothers or sisters who were still living to the funeral. There was no more contact with the Van Gelders.

2.3 A New Circle of Friends

Lutz and Jenny acquired a new circle of friends through their apostolic activity. As a result of Lutz's brochure about the conversion of Jews (published in 1925), he began to have regular contact with Fr. G. A. de Jong, SJ, beginning in 1927. They met several times and also corresponded with one another. De Jong encouraged Lutz to get in touch with Sally Hamburger, better known by his pen name, Herman de Man,[129] who was also a Jewish convert. He had been baptized in 1927 (his wife, Eva, and their first child had been baptized earlier) and was working for the KRO [Catholic Radio Broadcasting] when Lutz met him. Fr. De Jong introduced them to each other with the idea that, together, they might be able to do something to promote the Israel Apostolate. To be exact: Lutz's brother-in-law Abel Herzberg was to be the goal of the combined efforts of Lutz and Herman de Man. The first meeting between Herman and Lutz led to extensive contacts between the two families. However, since Lutz and Herman were too different in character to become really good friends, the primary relationship shifted to Jenny and Eva. Herman and Eva de Man attended the monastic ceremonies of the Löb children, with Herman taking advantage of these occasions to

128. Ako file 430, letter, Jenny to George, February 5, 1936.

129. G. Vaartjes, *Herman de Man. Een biografie*, Soesterberg, 1999.

take a number of group photos as well as portrait photos of various members of the family. The relationship was so close that Lutz and Jenny were asked to be the godparents of Marietje, Herman and Eva de Man's sixth child.[130]

Undoubtedly, Lutz and Jenny kept up with Herman de Man's publications, so they would have certainly seen the novel *Maria en haar timmerman* [Mary and her Carpenter], which was set against the background of Trappist life.[131] De Man's extensive critical manuscript, *Over de joden en hunne vervolgers* [Concerning the Jews and their Persecutors], published in 1933, would have once again drawn Lutz and Jenny's attention to the growing political tensions and Jewish persecution, and the extent to which these had increased in Germany. De Man began this brochure with the unswerving: "I am a Jew. Never have I been more substantially aware of this than since God granted me participation in the grace of baptism." Then he proceeded to rebut all the existing prejudices about Jews as an inferior race, political revolutionaries, persons of low moral standing, and capitalistic swindlers. His entire pamphlet was an appeal to Christians, especially Catholics, to speak up for the Jews who had been deprived of their civil rights in Nazi Germany and who were being persecuted.[132] In a postscript, De Man addressed his Jewish readers, even though the pamphlet was not intended for them, distancing himself from the reproach that converts were "apostates"[133] with the words:

> Get rid of the idea that I committed treason against my people when I recognized God's grace, when I followed His voice and was renewed in Holy Baptism, becoming one who turns his eyes toward the Heavenly Jerusalem.

130. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, January 18, 1931.

131. Ako file 428. The letter of December 18, 1932, gives the impression that Lutz knew this book.

132. H. de Man, *Over de joden en hunne vervolgers*, Baarn, 1933.

133. Abel Herzberg would later call Lutz *meschumed* (apostate, traitor) in a letter concerning baptism and Zionism.

Herman and Eva de Man did experience severe marital tensions at times. Herman could be a real brute, and Eva was driven to seek refuge with Jenny on several occasions. Jenny, on her part, felt obliged to support Eva, to help her maintain her faith, since she perceived her problem as being that of a convert who was having trouble persevering.[134] In 1933, when Eva was going through a crisis which required psychiatric treatment, she could not stand it at home any longer, so she turned to Lutz and Jenny, seeking peace.[135] Every now and then, Jenny would visit the De Man home in Berlicum, taking Paula and Deetje along with her,[136] and sometimes the children would spend the night with each other.[137] In 1935, things were once again not going too well for Eva, who remained psychologically unstable.[138] After Lutz's death, Jenny had planned to go help Herman and Eva with the housekeeping one day each month, but this did not work out. Jenny had adopted a critical attitude which Herman could not handle: in Jenny's eyes, Eva was too worldly and Herman was busy with too many other things which did not have anything to do with the faith.[139] On the other side, however, Herman had also written a letter shortly after Lutz's death, meddling in Jenny's life, and she found that disgusting.[140] She spoke of "crude writings" and considered breaking off the relationship completely; but after a short while,

134. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, September 23, 1932.

135. Ako file 429, letters, Eva de Man to Jenny, July 16 and July 22, 1933.

136. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, May 6, 1934.

137. Ako file 428, letter, February 19, 1932. Marietje de Man stayed at the Löbs' home. She was not used to order, wrote Jenny, which throws some light on the De Mans' household. The next year, Pop [Paula] stayed with the De Man family. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny, August 4, 1933.

138. Ako file 429, letter, September 12, 1935.

139. Ako file 430, letter, Jenny to George, May 1935, from Chimay and Lustin sur Meuse.

140. Ako file 430, letter, July 22, 1937.

the conflict seems to have been resolved and the relationship could once again be resumed, albeit with a bit more reserve.[141]

In the meantime, the Trappistine monastery was being built in Berkel-Enschot, where all of Jenny's daughters would be coming. The Gerardus Rooming House, run by the Sacred Heart Sisters, was there in the neighborhood, so Jenny applied for several rooms where she could receive room and board. In August 1936 she was able to move in,[142] just a few days after Paula had gone to Notre Dame de la Paix Abbey in Chimay to begin her noviciate. Before they had been able to move into the Gerardus Rooming House, Jenny, along with Hans, Paula, and Deetje, had lived in Tilburg for a few months with their friends, the Van den Bogaard family.[143] Hans was working in Tilburg at the time. In 1937, Jenny was present at the official foundation of the new Trappistine monastery, where all her daughters were then living.

Jenny was diagnosed with leukemia in 1938, and, after a short sickness, she died and was buried in Berkel-Enschot. None of her old friends and acquaintances from Bergen op Zoom attended the funeral, not even Jenny's good friend Jackie Juten and her husband, Jos.[144]

With Jenny's death, the binding link between the children, both within the monasteries and outside, fell away. There were almost no contacts with the Loeb family or the Van Gelder family any more, with the exception of Hans, who spoke with family members occasionally when he was living in Monster, near The Hague. In 1941, he was present at the ceremony during which the headstone was placed on the grave of his grandfather, Nathan Loeb. The rabbi of

141. Ako file 430, letters, July 22 and 28, 1937.

142. Ako file 430, letter, August 8, 1936.

143. Ako file 430, letter, June 18, 1936.

144. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, letter, J. Juten to Paula, July 24, 1962: "Lutz's death had far-reaching effects for everyone. Mother Löb's death in a rooming house in East Brabant in 1938 just quietly slipped by our busy lives."

the Jewish community in The Hague presided over this ceremony and Hans was a bit surprised at the reunion atmosphere that reigned. In his eyes, the relaxed behavior showed a lack of respect and an expression of little interest in the words and prayers of the rabbi.[145]

3. Religious Beliefs and Active Participation in Church Activities

We can distinguish three aspects of Lutz and Jenny's religious beliefs and their active participation in church activities. To a certain extent, these overlap each other in time. The first aspect embraces the somewhat different positions they adopted regarding Judaism in its religious, ethnic, and cultural significance. Lutz clearly defined his position in 1925, and Jenny followed later. A second aspect lies in their active participation in religious activities and church activities within the sphere of the highly organized Catholic life in the period between the two world wars. Here too there were certainly differences between Lutz and Jenny, partly due to their own talents, but also resulting from the differing roles commonly assigned to men and women in those days. The high point of their active participation in the public life of the church was during the years 1925–1930. This was also the period in which their association with contemplative religious life began, which increasingly determined the future life of the entire family. The contacts with Abbot Simon Dubuisson and the Trappists, beginning in 1926, were of decisive significance, forming the third aspect of this section and determining the direction in which Lutz and Jenny would steer their children.

3.1 Lutz and Jenny's Attitude Toward Judaism

During his years as a student, Lutz made a spiritual journey which alienated him from Judaism as practiced by the Loeb family at that

145. Ako file 430, letter, Hans to his brothers and sisters in the monastery, May 7, 1941.

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145. Ako file 430, letter, Hans to his brothers and sisters in the monastery, May 7, 1941.

time. His secret conversion to Catholicism led to a break with his family, especially following the return of the Löbs from the Dutch East Indies. Lutz and Jenny experienced this break as a rejection. Their tendency to witness to their faith and their active participation in church activities in Bergen op Zoom only increased their alienation from their families, and this growing alienation colored Lutz's attitude toward Judaism.

It was precisely during the 1920s that a revival of their own sense of Jewishness emerged within the Loeb family. Thea and Abel Herzberg were active Zionists, and other members of the family also had a certain sympathy for Zionism. In a letter to the editor, published in the Jesuit periodical *Studiën* [Studies], Lutz rejected Zionism and the ideal of a Jewish state, making use of the following arguments: in the twentieth century, it would not be possible to re-create the historical situation of the Jewish kingdom in Canaan; most of the Jews in the Netherlands would not have much desire for it; and from the Catholic standpoint, it would not be acceptable since, with the coming of Jesus Christ, the Jewish claims to this land had been annulled. Lutz proposed that "the 'Holy Land' is the land par excellence of the Christians." Lutz rejected the suggestion that the Freemasons might have had something to do with the pursuit of Zionism. The assumption that a Bolshevik revolution might possibly result if the Jews were not given any prospects of acquiring their own fatherland also seemed groundless to Lutz.[146]

A few years later, Lutz clearly expressed his vision of the relationship between the Jewish faith and the Christian faith in a publication recounting the story of his own conversion in the periodical *De Beiaard* [The Carillon]. For him, the high point of his conversion

146. *Studiën* 52 (1920), 94, 93–95. See also Salemink and Poorthuis, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], 195. Lutz is probably referring to an exchange of letters with one of the editors of this periodical. His letter was not a reaction to an article or letter in an earlier issue. Information from P. Begheyn, SJ, given to P. Steffen, May 27, 2008.

process lay in an exceptional experience when he heard God calling him. With a reference to Saint Paul's classic conversion model, Lutz described himself as being suddenly driven by the power of God's call:

> Then came my Damascus day. I know the place still and I remember exactly how it happened. I was on my way home from the train station, a hundred meters from our front door, when suddenly, without any conscious reason, exteriorly or interiorly, a shock ran through me, as if I had received an electric shock, and this was accompanied by a powerfully impelling and at the same time delightful command which filled me with a great joy: "You have to become Roman Catholic. That's what I want." All hesitation, all fear of the consequences, the fear of going astray, of making a mistake which I would regret for the rest of my life, everything that held me back had just disappeared. Completely calm, exteriorly and interiorly unmoved, I went home, determined to be baptized as soon as and whenever it pleased God to lead me to this step.[147]

Lutz used the story of his own conversion to explain Judaism and Jewish religious customs to the predominantly Catholic readers.[148] He described what Jewish children in the Netherlands learned in the Jewish schools, and he explained what was done during the Bar Mitzvah ritual. He was of the opinion that there was no comparison

147. Juda (L. Löb), *Uit het leven van een Jood*, in: *De Beiaard* [The Carillon] 10/1 (1925), 25–40.

148. By explaining the Jewish background, Lutz placed himself within a circle of Catholics who emphasized the relationship between Judaism and Christianity, leaving behind all sorts of stereotypical prejudices. In addition, it was also quite clear to Lutz that the Jewish religion, now as well as in the past, was nothing more than a stepping-stone to Christianity. It had no value in itself. See also Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], for the images which Catholics had of Jews.

between formation in the Jewish faith and Catholic schooling: "One can hardly speak of any real religious formation, such as that provided in the catechism."

It was probably partly due to *De Beiaard*'s reading public that Lutz cited a great many authors, but at the same time he was also revealing that his conversion had not been a rash or impulsive act. He gave the impression that his philosophical searching had been a primarily rational process, aligning himself with the famous convert Henry Newman, although he did not mention him by name.[149]

He pursued the ideological temptations and dangers to which intellectuals—and he considered himself to be one—were susceptible: materialism, hedonism, the historical critique of religion, and socialism. Lutz mentioned the following authors in this connection: the materialist F. Büchner (1824–1899); the naturalists W. Bölsche (1861–1939) and E. Häckel (1834–1919); the historical critic of religion E. Renan (1823–1892); and the classical authors of socialism Karl Marx, Lasalle, and Delavelaye. In contrast to these, he presented various Catholic authors whom Beekman would have recommended to him (as if he had handed him a stack of books), mentioning the apologetic[150] books *Waar is de Kerk van Christus* [Where is Christ's Church] by M. van der Hagen, SJ; *Was ist Christus* [Who is Christ?] by P. Roh, SJ; and *Gottesbeweise* [Proof of God's Existence] by Hammerstein.[151] Then he pursued the discussion between faith and natural science, using the time of his studies in Delft as a point of departure.[152]

149. Cf. Luykx, "Bekering en wetenschap," in Derks, et al., *Het licht gezien*.

150. Apologetic: in defense of the faith.

151. For Peter Roh (1811–1872), see *Catholic Encyclopedia*; for Fr. Van der Hagen (1847–1912), see above page 83, footnote 25.

152. That is when he became acquainted with the positivistic outlook of the author J. B. Stallo (1823–1900) in his *Die Begriffe und Theorien der modernen Physik* (which is the German translation of the original English: *The Concepts and Theories of Modern Physics*). He then compared and contrasted the lectures given in Delft by the Catholic Beijsens and the critic of religion Bolland.

After citing the scientific literature, Lutz returned to instruction in the faith. He promoted the "Little Canisius Bible," which had appeared in 1906,[153] using it to elaborate on the Jewish influences in the New Testament, and trying to demonstrate the historical fidelity of the New Testament texts. His positive comments about the relationship between Judaism and Christianity were a bit unusual in those days. Being a Jew, Lutz recognized the background and the details which revealed the Jewish roots of Christianity, and he could explain this, using anecdotes from his own life and that of his family as examples.

Lutz compared the presentation of the child Jesus in the temple and the redemption of the firstborn to something which had happened in his own family:

> One of my young uncles, who was known as being pretty stingy, hosted a festive meal to celebrate the circumcision of his first son on the eighth day after his birth. When it was time to redeem the child from one of his brothers-in-law, who was named Cohen—naturally this was purely a formality, which came down to nothing more than making a donation to the poor—a jokester called out to Uncle Cohen, "Don't ask too much or he'll leave you stuck with the kid."

While pursuing these philosophical discussions, Lutz mentioned authors who had helped him develop a positive and at the same time scientifically critical perspective of Christianity: the booklet *Logic* by the Jesuit Hill; the neo-scholastic works of Cardinal D. Mercier; the biologist Wasmann; the psychologist W. Wundt; and finally, J. Kneller and his book *Das Christentum und die Vertreter der Naturwissenschaft* [published in English as *Christianity and the Leaders of Modern Science*]. Those whom Lutz mentioned were primarily Jesuits, which gives an indication of the influence of Fr. Ermann and the retreats Lutz made with the Jesuits during the years 1922–1925.

153. An inexpensive edition of parts of the New Testament, translated into Dutch by the Apologetic Association Petrus Canisius. Cf. Rogier, *In vrijheid herboren* [Born Again in Freedom], 500.

Between the lines, Lutz was using irony to explain to his non-Jewish readers what the actual practice of the prescription was like for assimilated Jews in the Netherlands. Lutz compared the Pharisees, who were stereotypically portrayed as hypocritical Jews, with what he considered to be contemporary Jewish hypocrisy: a jeweler who deceived his mother, Jewish families who hired non-Jewish servants to light the lamps on the Sabbath, and the white posts in The Hague indicating how far a Jew could walk on the Sabbath. Lutz elaborated extensively on the associations existing between the Jewish Passover or Seder ritual and the description of the Last Supper. Once again he ironically recalled something which had happened in his own family: each person had received a piece of the matzo as dessert (*afikoman*), which was regarded as a lucky charm which could protect the bearer:

> On such an evening, after things had already begun to get a bit rowdy due to the unaccustomed use of wine, one of my younger brothers was rocking back and forth in his chair and fell over backwards, almost landing in a china cabinet full of crystal. In response to the startled and angry cries from our parents, he answered quite calmly: "Why are you so worried? Don't I still have my *afikoman* in my pocket?" and with that he gained a laughing exoneration.

Lutz concluded his explanation of the Jewish background of the New Testament with his views on the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. This is how he put it, also justifying the choice he had made in his own life:

> So the full truth of Jesus' word, "I have come, not to abolish the Law, but to fulfill it," is seen to apply to Jews as well. Once enlightened by Him, we come to understand what we had been thoughtlessly doing, without properly understanding it; it becomes clear that the Christian religion is the logical and historical extension of the Mosaic religion. In my opinion, every Jew who really knows his own religion and who wants to confess this religion in spirit, with all its

> consequences, has to become a Catholic. Contemporary Judaism is a petrified version of the living Judaism at the time of Christ; Catholicism is its living prolongation. The true Jews from the time of Christ, who remained faithful to their religion, were those who became Christians. The others placed the letter of the law regarding a few practices above the general teaching, in order to condone their own way of life, and primarily in their own eyes.

Lutz valued and respected religious Judaism, but at the same time he subordinated it to Christianity, its superior, and specifically, to the Catholic faith. In so doing, he was giving expression to the traditional theology of substitution.[154] He regarded religious Jews—and this in an expressly positive sense—as potential converts. In this description of his own conversion story, he was explicitly distancing himself from his own family. The members of his family were not religious Jews in heart and soul, and their liberal approach to life found no favor in Lutz's eyes.

After Lutz's death, Egbert Beekman made some critical remarks about the way Lutz had presented things, indicating that the process of conversion had not occured as abruptly as Lutz had described it,[155] and pointing out the mixture of fact and fiction in accordance with the literary intention of the author.

154. Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], 807 ff.

155. Akh F Löb 4. Letter of condolence from E. Beekman to Jenny, 1935. According to Beekman, Lutz was already actively and positively considering the Catholic faith as early as 1903, when he was visiting Beekman as his tutor, and Beekman brought him explicitly in contact with Catholicism. Beekman indicated that it was a more balanced process of conversion, taking place over a longer period of time, during which Lutz came to realize that he wanted to become a Catholic. According to Beekman, there was never any question of a sudden, unique experience of being driven by the power of God's call. Beekman pointed out that Lutz had used a literary construction to describe his process of conversion. In Luykx's terms *(Daar is nog poëzie, nog kleur, nog*

In the brochure that Lutz was commissioned to write by the Apologetic Association Petrus Canisius and the Geert Groote Society, and that also appeared in print in 1925, he was primarily addressing his fellow Jews, even though the chance of their ever seeing such a brochure was quite small. This brochure was entitled: *Jood of niet? En zoo ja, dan . . . Een vraag stellen is haar half beantwoorden* [Jewish or not? And if so, then . . . Asking a question is already half of the answer]. The first line of the daily Jewish prayer, "Hear, O Israel," was printed above the title.[156]

Shortly before this, another brochure had appeared in this extensive series published by these two Catholic organizations, with the title: *Waarom de jood niet?* [Why not the Jew?]. It had been written by G. A. de Jong, SJ (1892–1970), in order to promote the Israel Apostolate and the special commission which had been established within the Apologetic Association for this purpose.[157] De Jong was arguing against the view that Jews could not be converted and that any mission to the Jews would be futile.[158]

Lutz signed the brochure he had written with his Jewish name, "Juda," omitting his family name. As a Jew, he addressed his fellow Jews,

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warmte. Katholieke bekeerlingen en moderniteit in Nederland 1880–1960 [There is still poetry, color, warmth: Catholic converts and modernity in the Netherlands 1880–1960], Lutz was a "seeker." For him, baptism was not a matter of gaining access to society, as it had often been for many Jews in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In recounting the story of his conversion, Lutz used Saint Paul's classical model, and in so doing, provided, as it were, a legitimization "from above"—the initiative came from God—which also functioned as a defense: no one could criticize or relativize what had been done in response to the voice of God's call.

156. This brochure, with "Juda" as the author's name, appeared as number 119 in the series published by the Apologetic Association Petrus Canisius and the Geert Groote Society, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1925.

157. Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], 232 ff.

158. See the bibliography in Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], 918.

wanting to convert them to the Catholic faith by means of rational, Biblical argumentation. However, the real intention of the brochure was primarily to provide information to the many Catholic readers and to stimulate them to work for conversions among the Jews.

In his introduction, Lutz described the mutual prejudices which Jews and Christians held regarding each other as being senseless, but he did not elaborate. He proposed that "Jewish" was a religious concept rather than a racial concept, regarding Judaism as a religious unity. Then he posed the self-critical question as to whether Jews in the Netherlands were really religious Jews, for the real Jew is the one who is faithful to the Law of Moses and the Word of God in its entirety. From his perspective, assimilated Jews, liberal Jews, and nonreligious Jews were not really Jews. He closed his introduction with his core argument and personal conviction:

> whoever truly wishes to accept the Jewish religion to its full extent has to become Roman Catholic.

Lutz regarded this as a reasonable step and an obligation to the Creator.

Next, he briefly treated the way in which the various contemporary philosophies of life dealt with the question of truth, repeatedly refuting them from the Catholic point of view. Finally, he dealt with the question of whether the historical Jesus was the promised Messiah, which he obviously answered in the positive. He listed a great many Bible texts to show that Jesus and the New Testament were the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies, ending with several conclusions and the brochure's objectives:

> This essay has achieved its purpose:
> - If you are a little less dismissive regarding the Catholic faith;
> - If you would like to go ahead and buy an ordinary catechism book, such as those used by Roman Catholic children;
> - If you can value the logical structure of the catechism, and realize that Roman Catholic children are certainly not kept

ignorant by using it, but rather, on the contrary, they learn to think in a logical manner;

- If you go ask a random clergyman for an explanation of the many strange things which you find in the catechism, and then have to admit that he really seems to be an exception to the general rule, since he really is friendly, without being intent on winning a soul, and he seems to be well-cultured and modest;
- In short, if you discover that this person, whom you just happen to meet, is a calm and pleasant person, "completely different from the others who are so narrow-minded and intolerant, of course";
- If you begin to study your own faith and the Catholic faith a bit better and, it goes without saying, only in order to become better acquainted with the truth;
- If you ask God to help you, to lead you, so that you do not let yourself be blinded by false reasoning; and finally,
- If your searching spirit and your homesick desire for religion finally find rest and full satisfaction in the Roman Catholic Church.

Lutz refuted the prejudices which Catholics had about Jews, but he also pointed out the misconceptions which Jews had regarding the Catholic Church, the clergy, and the faithful. His argumentation proceeded apologetically from the conviction that the full truth could be found only in the Catholic Church. His perspectives fit seamlessly into the Catholic teaching regarding the superior value of Catholicism above other religions; its universal claim to truth; and the belief that Christ, Christianity, and the New Testament are the total fulfillment of the Old Testament. He regarded the Catholic Church as the new people of God, and the Jews could belong to that people only if they converted. He did not present this conversion as a break, but rather as a logical next step.

Fr. De Jong, whom we have already mentioned, did not conceal his admiration when he reviewed Lutz's brochure shortly after it

appeared in print. He saw the brochure as a sign of the next step in the Israel Apostolate, which he was promoting: conversion from the inside out, by converted Jews among the Jews. De Jong supported the proposition that it was only logical for the religious Jew to feel obliged to take the next step and be converted to the Catholic faith. De Jong elaborated on the mutual prejudices and misconceptions of Christians and Jews, which Lutz had briefly mentioned, and in so doing, he went further than simply reviewing the brochure. By the end of his article, De Jong had arrived at the proposition that Jesus is the promised Jewish Messiah, and Lutz's brochure could serve as a useful compass for Jews to arrive at this insight in faith. In this way, he was incorporating Lutz's views into the Israel Apostolate. A few years later, Lutz himself would become actively involved in this apostolate.

It was not coincidental that Lutz was writing about the conversion of the Jews during these years, and that his contributions were being published. There were various attempts being made in the wider circle of Catholic organizations to find ways of coming in contact with persons of differing convictions, in an attempt to convert them. On the Catholic side, the prevailing conviction was that conversion could occur through prayer. On the Protestant side, a more direct approach was chosen: oral and written testimonies and the actual recruiting of converts.[159] In 1925, the Catholic Church held an international day of prayer for the conversion of the Jews. Passionate reactions to this initiative were published in the Zionist periodical, *De Joodse Wachter* [The Jewish Watchman].[160] In 1926, an international Catholic movement was founded to which even high-ranking church leaders attached their names. This movement, *Amici*

159. Cf. Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror].

160. M. Poorthuis and Th. Salemink, *Op zoek naar de blauwe ruiter. Sophie van Leer, een leven tussen avant-garde, jodendom en christendom, 1892–1953* [In Search of the Blue Knight: Sophie van Leer, a life between avant-garde, Judaism, and Christianity, 1892–1953] (Nijmegen, 2000), 255.

Israel, advocated the establishment of a Jewish state. It was precisely the return of the Jews to Israel which would be the beginning of the consummation and a sign of their acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah. The movement warned against the rising anti-Semitism and explicitly mentioned the perverse ideas of the then relatively unknown Hitler. This movement explicitly insisted that the prayer for the "faithless Jews" (*pro perfidis Judaeis*) in the Roman Catholic liturgy for Good Friday be changed so that the Jews would no longer be viewed, according to the stereotype, as murderers of the Messiah. The Vatican, however, suppressed this movement in 1928. Problems had arisen regarding several persons who had been closely involved with the original founding of the movement; in addition, Vatican authorities chose to remain committed to a more detached attitude toward Jews.[161]

In 1926, Lutz and Jenny had met Fr. De Jong when they were visiting their spiritual director, Fr. Ermann, in Rotterdam.[162] In May 1927, De Jong resumed that contact in a letter written from Vienna, where he was researching European Judaism.[163] He mentioned that he had been in contact with Herman de Man (the Jewish convert Sally Hamburger, who wrote under the name of Herman de Man), who was writing regularly for *De Maasbode*, presuming that Lutz knew him. In 1925, De Man had tried to contact Fr. De Jong, but at that time De Jong was living in Maastricht and could not serve as his spiritual director; that task would have to be entrusted to someone else. That same year, Herman's wife, Eva de Man, and their first child were baptized. Herman himself was baptized in 1927, on Easter Saturday, in Vianen, with Pieter van der Meer de Walcheren and his wife serving as godfather and godmother.[164]

161. Ibid., 267–80.

162. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, March 24, 1927.

163. Ako file 427, letter, De Jong to Lutz and Jenny, May 7, 1927.

164. G. Vaartjes, *Herman de Man. Een biografie* (Soesterberg, 1999). See also: H. Povée, *Herman de Man* (Rotterdam, 1986).

In 1927, De Jong traveled from Vienna to several cities in Poland, and then on to Berlin. He collected data and ritual objects related to Judaism and made a number of contacts, hoping to be able to publish his findings regarding the situation of the Jews in Vienna in *De Maasbode*. In 1928, after he had returned to the Netherlands, he was appointed to teach at the Ignatius College, a secondary school run by the Jesuits in Amsterdam. He continued working for the Israel Apostolate and gave lectures in The Hague. He was also in contact with the writer Carry van Bruggen (1881–1932).[165] In his letters to Lutz and Jenny, he said nothing about the well-known convert Francisca van Leer, nor about the *Amici Israel* movement, nor about Max van den Berg, the zealous convert from Breda who had organized a prayer crusade for the conversion of the Jews.

Fr. De Jong brought Lutz and Herman de Man in contact with each other. He got them to work together to find a way to gain access to the Zionist circles in the Netherlands, since De Jong had noticed that "only the nationalist Israelites stay away from the Catholic Church." One of the key figures of the Zionist movement in the Netherlands was Lutz's brother-in-law Abel Herzberg, so Lutz and Herman de Man directed their efforts toward him.

In March 1927, Jenny wrote that "Uncle Ab sent two booklets to Father," and she added, hopefully, "Uncle Ab is searching!"[166] A little later, Fr. De Jong inquired how things were going, asking Lutz explicitly, "Is this gentleman getting closer to Rome?"[167] Apparently there was not much progress. When Fr. De Jong was in Amsterdam in January 1928, he asked Lutz where Abel Herzberg lived and worked: "Yes, how can we contact Mr. A. H.? Do you know a way? I'd really like to! Asking him for information about Zionism? Think

165. Cf. M. de Keizer, *De dochter van een gazan. Carry van Bruggen en de Nederlandse samenleving 1900–1930* (Amsterdam, 2006). Fr. De Jong did not say why he had contacts with this Jewish writer.

166. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, March 24, 1927.

167. Ako file 427, letter, De Jong to Lutz, May 1927.

about it. There would be enough work with the Jews here!" Lutz wondered how he could best approach his brother-in-law in order to win him over to the Catholic faith. De Jong suggested asking Abel Herzberg for information about Zionism. It seems that they chose to proceed with caution:

> If it's true that Mr. H. will realize that it's to get him to become a Catholic, then I'd advise you not to write. I think it would be better to wait for another opportunity, for example, when he comes to visit you, or vice-versa, and then advise him to go talk about it sometime. You know that Jews don't trust "missionaries" and I'm afraid that that's how I would come over in their eyes. I imagine that our dear Lord will show us another way. Don't you think it would be better to wait too?[168]

Then Fr. De Jong got Herman de Man involved in trying to make contact with Abel Herzberg. De Man consulted Lutz by letter:[169]

> We still have to find a way to explain my approaching him. Naturally it has to be completely aboveboard. But it is a bit difficult for me just to walk by and ring the doorbell and say: "Strange, why is it, really, that you're not a Christian?!" Do you see any chance of actually realizing this contact? For example, I don't even know his address. Come on, sharpen your thinking.

It is interesting that Herman de Man wanted to have nothing to do with an approach involving ulterior motives, such as Fr. De Jong had proposed to Lutz! Herman de Man explained how he went to work with possible converts, and which persons he brought in to help:

168. Ako file 427, letter, De Jong to Lutz, January 16, 1928.
169. Ako file 427, letter, Herman de Man to Lutz, February 23, 1928.

> If I notice that he can't come any closer through me, then I can help him in another way. Usually I hand these members over to my good godfather, Pieter van der Meer [de Walcheren (Hans Evers-Peter Steffen)]; sometimes, however, if it's someone who has been philosophically schooled, I refer them to Father Master J. Doodkorte, OP, a man of pure gold, but as sober as cardboard.

So Lutz tried to find another way of approaching Abel. He sent him a Jewish coin and asked Abel what it was, without mentioning how or where he had acquired it. Abel answered that it was a coin or medal which had been distributed several years earlier by the Dutch Zionist Federation, as a token of membership in the world organization.[170] Then Lutz asked for information about the Zionist movement, its purpose and its organization, even though he had emphatically expressed his negative opinion of the pretensions of Zionism a few years earlier in a letter to the editor of a Catholic periodical.[171] Abel took Lutz's question seriously, sending him a detailed letter and loaning him several books.[172] Lutz had also sent Abel several books, intending that to be a way to get him interested in the Catholic vision of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. One of those books had to do with the ideas of the apostle Paul, and Abel criticized the book quite frankly, calling such literature "false from a to z." Even though Abel had not read the entire book, he drew his own conclusions, expressing himself quite clearly and frankly:

> The ideas regarding Judaism and the contradistinction between Christ and Judaism are based on historical lies which can only be maintained due to the abnormal political

170. Ako file 426 (undated correspondence), postcard, Abel to Lutz.

171. The letter to the editor mentioned above in footnote 145, *Studiën* [Studies] 52 (1920): 94, 84.

172. Ako file 426, letter, Abel to Lutz, 1928.

> position (and nothing else) of the Jews, and the anti-Semitism which necessarily results. It's no coincidence that the apostolic Church has always been hostile to the Jews, nor are there any other secondary causes, and it's still the factual relationship, by virtue of its very essence and reality.

He was of the opinion that Lutz, and many Christians as well, did not understand this at all and let themselves be carried away by an ingrained, one-sided view of Judaism. Rebutting Lutz's idea that Judaism was just a preliminary phase and a stepping-stone to the true faith, Abel emphasized Judaism's independent existence, continuing to the present day.

> It's time for people to stop denying the Jew and believing that the only thing he's still good for is to be converted. Hasn't it been long enough, now, that he's been saying that he isn't going to let himself be converted? No one in the world can add anything to Judaism. Judaism knows what it has contributed and what it can contribute. And in face of the usurpation by the only truth which saves, it still exists and it shall continue to exist with its "eternally damned stubbornness." The essence of Zionism is this "eternally damned stubbornness" in its modern political-cultural form.

If these remarks were not clear enough for Lutz, then Abel made his opinion absolutely unmistakable with the following notes about Zionism:

> One begins to understand Zionism only when one stops believing in the possibility of conversion, for conversion is nothing other than assimilation, and that's the opposite of Zionism. Zionism believes in the character of a people, in its own culture, its own spirit, its own god and religion. The latter, though, only as far as it has to do with religious questions, and official Zionism—in contrast to the Ortho-

> dox group of Mizrahi Jews[173]—isn't concerned about that. There are a lot—a whole lot—of fairly religious Zionists (to use a modern word), and the religious revival among Jewish youth is quite strong. There is indeed a "conversion," teshuvah, an inner (re)turning to God. The church (every church, the Catholic Church just as much as the Israelitic Church) experiences this as a danger. And it's true that, thanks to the Zionist movement, today's youth have found a valuable religious counterbalance to Catholic and Protestant missionaries in Judaism itself (without the pots-and-pans Orthodoxy).

Abel realized he was coming on rather strong, but he was quite sincere in sharing his views with Lutz, whom he regarded as a friend.

> There, that's what I wanted to write you, but I had been putting it off until today because I wasn't sure if I would offend you. If a friendship exists, then the first obligation of that friendship is to bear each other's truth. But if this truth can't be endured, then what's the friendship worth? If it's just being nice for the sake of being nice, it's impossible.

Apparently Jenny too meddled in this attempted conversion. Abel appreciated this in his own way, but he delicately made it known that he held other views on the subject.

> And then one more thing: however one prays, and in whatever church one prays, all those prayer words meet somewhere at the end of all our human thoughts. That's why Jenny's letter touched me so, her promise to pray for us, her faith in the miraculous power of prayer. One responds to words from the heart with words from the heart, and let's hope that these words, dissonant at the beginning of their path, will become harmonious in God's heart.

173. Mizrahi Jews: Religious Jews who lived in the (Middle) East.

Abel launched a frontal attack on Lutz's views and the choice he had made which further determined his life. Although he did not mention Lutz's writings, he was well informed about Lutz's thoughts concerning conversion and baptism, and he dissociated himself from them in strong terms:

> I regard baptism as a phenomenon of assimilation, stemming from the inferiority complex which Jews have had for twenty centuries of Galuth.[174] In the end, none of that has anything at all to do with religiosity. The Jewish religion and Jewish concepts of God, as well as Jewish philosophies of life and ways of viewing the world, are no worse than any other such things. And the Catholic Church isn't any better than the synagogue. You meschumeds[175] let yourselves be deceived, before as well as afterwards. The Church and modern Christianity don't know anything about Christ. The only ones who understand anything at all are those of Christ's own race, and they aren't separated from him (as the Church, purely out of self-interest, is pleased to propagandize). They never have been separated from him. The ones who really are separated are those who [worship] that idol which a domineering and insolent Aryandom erected and, with a pagan, goyish[176] brutality, identified with one of the most noble Jews, one of the most noble human persons, who has ever lived. And a most bloodthirsty hate of the Jews has been a faithful ally of this identification. Baptism would make our people lose confidence in the last of our original characteristics which still remains: a sharply critical intellect.

The tone of the correspondence between Lutz and Abel gradually became sharper and more bitter, and little by little, their oppos-

174. Galuth: exile, diaspora.
175. Meschumed: apostate, traitor.
176. Goy: heathen, not Jewish.

ing visions and choices in life clearly surfaced. Lutz reacted rather sarcastically to the fact that Abel had called him a "meschumed" (apostate, traitor), once again taking up his words as if he were going to continue the discussion, even though it was already clear how far apart their standpoints were.

> Dear Ab, the more I think about your last postcard, the more incomprehensible it becomes for me. And since you still have your sharply critical intellect, thanks to your not being baptized, I'm forced to turn to you to request a bit more information about when that deception of the Jews, both before as well as afterwards, actually began, since—and you certainly agree with me on this point—the first Christians were contemporaries of Christ as well as being members of his own race, so they surely would have understood him. Among the apostles, Thomas seems to have been the unbeliever, in other words, the sharpest critic—I presume that you know the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles—nonetheless, he ended up addressing Christ as "My Lord and my God." And all of them recognized Him as the Messiah and preached that to others of their own race. Were they perhaps already beginning to be deceived? Even though they aren't domineering and insolent Aryans, have they already, with a pagan, goyish brutality, made the most noble of all Jews into an idol? And if so, where is your evidence? Assimilated and degenerated as I am, I don't get it. In the hope that you will want to use your healing knife and mercilessly pierce my pathologically inflamed flesh, I send you my best greetings, your Lutz.[177]

They were not able to resolve their differences. Their exchanges resulted more in alienation than in rapprochement at the level of

177. Ako file 426, postcard, Lutz to Abel Herzberg.

faith and life's convictions. Lutz discussed Abel's reactions with Fr. De Jong, who responded in this way:

> Yes, indeed, you are right in what you say: it looks like he's resisting, even though he knows he's wrong. I get the impression that he's someone who is going to find himself willy-nilly attracted to Catholicism since, all things considered, he's just spouting off big words, worn-out objections which he hasn't thought through. With a bit of study, he should be able to surmount those objections, certainly with his intellect. If he would just casually let the Catholic teachings unfold themselves to him . . . but any kind of pressure or coercion can do a great deal of harm with such a person. The letter [from Abel, Hans Evers-Peter Steffen] sounds like it was written in an emotional outburst. I don't believe that he'll clarify your "misconceptions" in such a tone, as you've requested. It seems better to me to direct him to someone else (naturally, I'd be glad to do it). Some things are easier to accept from someone you don't know—there's less passion, one is more favorably disposed. After all, he's already far enough to be feeling sympathetic toward Christ, and that's already a long way. The rest will follow, if his relationship with God is like that of a child.[178]

The content of Abel Herzberg's critical remarks was not taken seriously; it was reduced to an emotional outburst. Herman de Man and Fr. De Jong were still of the opinion that there was a good chance of converting Abel, if he would only make himself a little receptive. Lutz's attempts came to an end, with the correspondence becoming increasingly sharper. Later, Jenny mentioned the so-called stubbornness of Uncle Ab in several of her letters to the boys in the monastery: "Uncle Ab is resisting"[179] and "Uncle Ab is a fool—he wants

178. Ako file 427, letter, De Jong to Lutz, May 18, 1928.

179. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, Easter 1929.

everything but he doesn't do anything."[180] In June 1929, Herman de Man once again contacted Abel, but nothing was gained.[181]

Apart from these attempts to convert Abel, with the intention of finding a way through him to reach young, idealistic Zionists, Lutz did not pursue any other special activities within the Israel Apostolate, even though he did remain interested. With regard to these Jewish initiatives, Lutz and Jenny were invited to dinner by a certain Major Huys in January 1931, together with Herman de Man and Th. Wolters, a teacher at the seminary in Hoeven.[182]

Jenny's attitude toward Judaism was not the same as Lutz's. It is true that she did endorse the religious opinion that Jews should convert to Catholicism, but she was even more indignant than Lutz at the prejudiced notions which Catholics held about Jews and the ignorance which could be heard in various Catholic expressions. Jenny explicitly considered herself as belonging to the Jewish people. While endorsing conversion, she simultaneously defended her people, making it quite clear that she was proud of her ancestry.

During the first years after she became a member of the Catholic Church, Jenny had felt strange as a convert:

> I kept feeling that the Catholics who associated with us really did so out of sympathy, as though they considered us baptized Jews of less account.

In 1925, Jenny was still emphasizing the fact that the break with her Jewish friends and family had been quite difficult for her. At the same time, she also found it painful to encounter such

180. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny, June 11, 1929.

181. Ibid.

182. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, January 18, 1931. We have not been able to find out who Mr. Huys was. It looks like Jenny wrote "Major" but it could also be something else. It could also possibly be the priest, G. Huys, who was chairman of the charity for the conversion of Israel. Cf. Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], 422.

misunderstanding by Catholics, from whom she had expected to receive a warm welcome.[183] She gives that impression in the written manuscript of her lecture entitled *Na den Doop. Het leven van een bekeerlinge* [After Baptism. The life of a convert].[184] She compared her own pain and suffering with that of the Redeemer, construing it as God's will. Jenny did not have the impression that her own enthusiasm for the faith was shared by others. It seemed to her that persons who had been raised as Catholics were rather lax, and she wondered if Catholic women were aware of the good fortune in which they shared. This lecture was intended for Catholic girls, and Jenny took advantage of the opportunity to sketch a high ideal of the Catholic woman.

Jenny gave witness to a revived realization of her own Jewishness in her lecture, *Mijn Weg tot Kristus* [My Journey to Christ], given in 1934 to other converts in Oosterhout.[185] There she expressed a positive appreciation of Jewish culture, and in so doing, allied herself with the reawakening of a sense of Jewish identity within the broader society, which was emerging in defiance of political pressures. Within the Loeb family at the beginning of the 1930s, Lutz's brothers were also showing a more conscious appreciation of their Jewish roots, even though it goes without saying that they handled it quite differently. For them, it had more to do with the increasing international tensions and growing anti-Semitism. Against this background, the Zionist movement had more appeal. What Jenny formulated was principally

183. Considering her activities and her circle of acquaintances in Bergen op Zoom, we might question whether Jenny portrayed their reception by Catholic circles a bit too negatively.

184. Ako file 451, J. Löb-van Gelder, *Na den Doop. Het leven van een bekeerlinge* [After Baptism. The life of a convert] Manuscript. Lecture for Catholic women and girls, around 1925.

185. Akh F Löb 2. It is not clear who was responsible for Jenny's helping with the formation of recent converts.

what she missed in Catholic circles, and in so doing, she was probably idealizing the Jewish environment of her youth.

> How little they really know, those who talk like that about the Jews—the Jewish people, their fidelity, their goodness, their empathy with each other, the intimate warmth of their family relationships—how proud I was of all those beautiful characteristics of my people! And how severely all of this was judged! How I missed these things during those first years after becoming a member of the Church: the sparkling sense of humor, the delightful hospitality. It was ignorance, knowing absolutely nothing about the Jewish people, judging by the superficial appearances of wandering Jewish peddlers and merchants in the marketplace. It hurt, and as time went on, I felt less and less attracted to Christians. For even though I'm a child of Jesus with all my heart and soul, I feel for my Jewish people, I'm still bound to my Jewish people, I will never deny my Jewish blood.

She was exasperated with the ignorance and lack of respect with which Catholics, and even priests, spoke about Jews.

> My, how I've suffered since then from the thoughtlessness of so many Catholics whenever they've spoken about Jews! Even priests can speak so uncharitably about Jews. And if I hadn't been so convinced that we had accepted the true faith, then that disparaging manner of speaking about Jews would have driven me to turn around and go back.

None of this, however, hindered Jenny in any way from joining "The Light," an apostolate of prayer for the conversion of the Jews, centered in Breda and led by the convert Max van den Berg.[186]

186. Ako file 429, enrolled October 21, 1933. Cf. Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], 422–24.

However, her oldest son, George, voiced his objections.[187] He preferred that his mother not become another Francisca van Leer, a convert whose actions were, according to him (and he knew of it only by hearsay), a bit extravagant:[188]

> What are you going to do, dear Mother?! In itself, it's a good work, but you need to think it over and discuss it with knowledgeable persons. In any case, this is what I'd really like to ask of you: never give any talks and don't sign up for any lectures. I'm thinking especially of Francisca van Leer in this regard. I met Fr. Hupperts about three years ago when he was our retreat master, and he was telling me about her: he had a lot of contact with Francisca van Leer, but he was always having to remind her about humility, etc. Such a pushy busybody!

George also expressed his doubts about Max van den Berg's apostolate of prayer:

> Do you know that Max van den Berg has been condemned for fraud and even worse, and that he's been sentenced to months in prison? That's what several of the monks here have heard, including Fr. Leo. You know "The Light" went out in the middle of '34, just like Father [Lutz] had told me a year earlier: "That work won't last; it's not founded on God; it's founded on Max van den Berg's own strengths."

Here George reveals indirectly that Lutz and Jenny did not always agree about certain religious matters; for example, Lutz did not see much in Jenny's interest in the apostolate of prayer. In addition, it is striking that George presumes permission to correct his mother:

187. Ako file 430, letter, George to Mother, January 1936.

188. See Salemink and Poorthuis, *Op zoek naar de blauwe ruiter* [In Search of the Blue Knight].

> I'm not afraid that you're going to do anything wrong, but I wonder if you'll really belong to that group. It's no outward show that leads a person to believe in Jesus, but rather an inner conviction and a life lived according to that conviction—that's precisely what I always saw in Father and Mother, even as a little boy. And that's how you have to be now, too, Mother. Your own quiet way of being with the new converts in that same spirit will have the most influence on them. You need to read what Saint Paul said about that, when he was instructing his disciple Timothy (I Timothy 5: 9-10). I can safely assure you that you already possess the characteristics which Saint Paul required of widows who were allowed to share in the apostolate, and it's the work of these widows that I'm describing for you.

The letters mention nothing about any personal contact between Jenny and Francisca van Leer or Max van den Berg, nor did Jenny give any lectures, except during the period 1930–1935 in Oosterhout, at the formation meetings for converts and the faith days for Catholic girls and women. Perhaps George was unjustly worried. On the other hand, from the time before he had entered the monastery, George knew his mother as someone who loved being in the midst of the social and cultural whirl. In the 1930s, however, there was no longer any question of this for Jenny.

Lutz and Jenny's older children knew they were of Jewish ancestry, but they regarded themselves as Catholics, not Jews, which meant they exhibited no tendency to distance themselves from that ancestry or to be involved explicitly with the conversion of the Jews. Later, when the children were in the monastery, most of the members of the community were not even aware that they were of Jewish ancestry. Of course, this knowledge belonged to the personal sphere of worldly origins, which were not discussed in the monasteries.[189]

189. Memories of Sr. Laurentia Delfgaauw during a conversation in Nuland, April 3, 2000.

Lutz and Jenny's attitude toward Judaism was certainly different from the way in which the members of the Loeb family dealt with their Jewish roots. Within the Loeb family itself, there was also diversity and change, though without significant tensions among the family members. Father Nathan Loeb was involved with the administration of the synagogue in The Hague: he was a parnas (a trustee) for a long time, and he maintained the traditional practices of the faith in a modified, non-Orthodox form. Lutz's younger brother Alfred became involved with the establishment of a liberal Jewish community in The Hague in the 1930s,[190] which shook up the traditional Jewish atmosphere of the city. Several prominent persons belonging to this group asked Alfred to serve as their legal advisor. His wife, Betty Levenbach, was a member of a group which sought to make the liberal Jewish voice heard in the Netherlands, especially in matters regarding the position of women. Their son, Guus, was actively involved in setting up a movement for liberal Jewish boys.[191] When political tensions in Germany led to a stream of Jewish refugees coming to the Netherlands, the Jewish community in The Hague did its best to provide assistance and support; however, the liberal Jewish community was less ready to help out.[192]

The increasing influence of Jewish refugees from Germany was causing tension. Active liberal Jewish movements had sprung up in several different places by then, and they were doing their best to demonstrate their Dutch character. This was made conspicuous when Alfred Loeb, who clearly had German roots, made an announcement (in German!) at an international conference of liberal Jews in 1937, saying that it was important, even in 1937, that the Dutch element prevail in the communities.[193] In 1938, the com-

190. D. Michman, *Het liberale jodendom in Nederland* [Liberal Judaism in the Netherlands], (Amsterdam, 1988).

191. Ibid., 91.

192. Ibid., 109.

193. Ibid., 117: "in den Gemeinden das holländische Element prävaliert."

munity received its own rabbi, and in 1939, they acquired a room to use for their own worship services. They had been trying to get their own cemetery for several years, with Alfred Loeb being involved in the negotiations. When they succeeded in acquiring a piece of ground in Rijswijk and began to use it as a cemetery in 1937, the reaction published in the traditional Jewish *Centraal Blad* [Central Newspaper] was characteristic of the relations between the groups of Jews: "they already have a place to bury their ideals."[194] The liberal Jewish movement never reached the great majority of Jews in the Netherlands but remained, rather, primarily a group for the wealthy, or as Michman puts it:

> The founders were among the most respectable families in The Hague community, active at every possible level within Dutch Judaism. They had a great deal in common with well-known rabbis and parnasim, which made it impossible to ignore the group, no matter how small it was, as far as numbers go.[195]

There are no references to any differences of opinion between Nathan Loeb and his children concerning their widely differing religious beliefs. His son Ernst had little interest in the Jewish religion and joined a Masonic Lodge.[196] Daughter Emma and son-in-law Wilhelm Spiegel lived as very much assimilated Jews in Germany. Daughter Thea and son-in-law Abel Herzberg were nonreligious Jews, active in the Zionist movement. Lutz and Jenny's religious views were not discussed within the family. Presumably Nathan never read the article and the brochure in which Lutz so explicitly dissociated himself from Judaism and his family's ancestry.

194. Ibid., 123.
195. Ibid., 142.
196. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 100.

3.2 Parish and Church Activities

The Löb family moved to Bergen op Zoom at the beginning of the period that would later be called "Het Rijke Roomse Leven:"[197] Church and faith dominated all areas of life in which Catholics were active, with a strong organization including all kinds of church and social groups.

During these years in Bergen op Zoom, 80% of the population was Roman Catholic.[198] In addition to the old city parish, population growth and new housing developments had led to the establishment of several new parishes, and each of these new parishes had all the corresponding church organizations and associations. As we have already seen, there was also a movement to make Catholic secondary education a reality, which led to the establishment of a Catholic business college and a secondary school. The legal prerequisites had been met in 1917 when the school law was passed, granting equal rights (and governmental financing) for neutral and confessional education. In 1900, the Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus had already opened an apostolic school in Bergen op Zoom. This secondary school provided college preparatory education and formation for boys who wanted to join this missionary congregation, but there were also many students who chose another path in life after completing this course of studies. There were also other religious orders and congregations located in and around Bergen

197. "Het Rijke Roomse Leven" is the expression used by Catholics in the Netherlands to refer to the period 1920–1960, which was marked by a flourishing Catholic culture with an emphasis on Catholic identity, oriented toward the Pope in Rome, and supported by an abundance of liturgical activities. The expression is taken from a regular column in the then well-known periodical "De Katholieke Illustratie" [The Catholic Illustrated], which provided information about the many missionary activities, baptisms, weddings, ordinations, processions, feasts, jubilees, etc.

198. Cf. *Een kind van zijn tijd. Mollerlyceum* [A child of its time. Moller School], (Bergen op Zoom, 1993); Education in Bergen op Zoom.

op Zoom, such as the Carmelite sisters, who lived a contemplative life, and the Brothers of Huijbergen, who also had a boarding school with a course of studies.[199]

This was an ideal environment for zealous and fanatic converts such as Lutz and Jenny. Jenny later related that, as far as she was concerned, it was only after they had moved to Bergen op Zoom that she could really live as a Catholic. As a family, they participated in everything available within the all-embracing church life, both within the parish and without. They showed themselves to be especially active and zealous, receiving due attention from the parish clergy and fulfilling leadership positions in several religious organizations. Lutz was studious by nature: he immersed himself in the teachings of the Catholic Church, he read periodicals intended for priests, and he was sought out by the local clergy as someone to talk to.

It is unclear whether or not Lutz and Jenny were in touch with the parish priests from Halsteren. They did have contact with Pastor C. Oomen from the neighboring parish of the Holy Martyrs of Gorcum, on the north side of the city.[200] He provided written information about their son Rob when he was applying for admission to the apostolic school run by the Marist Fathers in Hulst, in the Zeelandic Flanders region of the Netherlands.[201]

199. Cf. "De bijdragen van de religieuzen aan het leven in het bisdom" [Contributions of religious to life in the diocese], in *Gaandeweg aaneengesmeed. Geschiedenis van het bisdom Breda* [Gradually Bound into One. History of the Diocese of Breda], ed. J. Jacobs (Nijmegen, 2003), 79.

200. C. J. Oomen: born on June 3, 1872; ordained a priest on May 27, 1899; appointed pastor of the parish of the Holy Martyrs of Gorcum in Bergen op Zoom on November 11, 1919; died on August 23, 1939.

201. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in Den Bosch, personal file, Robert Löb. Letter from Pastor Oomen to the provincial OFMCap dated September 13, 1926. In this letter, he stated that he was "sending Robert to Hulst" because he thought that "he had a vocation, and also for economic reasons."

When the family was living on Halsterseweg, Anton van Dijk, an associate pastor from the parish of the Holy Martyrs of Gorcum, visited them on a regular basis. He got along well with their oldest son, George, and made himself so much at home that Jenny began to regard him as her own son.[202] Associate Pastor Van Dijk discussed his plans to enter the monastery with Lutz, and gradually these plans began to take on definite form. The circle of parish priests in Bergen op Zoom spoke of this resolution positively, just as they also praised George Löb, who was then studying with the Priests of the Sacred Heart.[203] In March 1925, Associate Pastor Anton van Dijk decided to become a monk in Koningshoeven Abbey, a Trappist monastery in Tilburg.[204] In doing so, he chose a life of detachment and separation from the world. When writing Lutz and Jenny about his decision to enter the monastery, he emphasized his spiritual bonds with them.[205]

When Associate Pastor Van Dijk entered the monastery, Lutz was set on the trail of the Trappists in Koningshoeven. Up until then, he had made his annual retreat in a Jesuit monastery, but beginning in 1926, he chose to go to Our Lady of Koningshoeven Abbey. This would lead to his meeting Abbot Simon Dubuisson, which would have far-reaching consequences for the entire family.

During these years, a student studying for the priesthood also visited the Löb family. He belonged to the Asselbergs family, one of the prominent Catholic families in Bergen op Zoom, and was studying at the major seminary in Hoeven. Later he would follow his literary ambitions and become well known as Anton van Duinkerken.

202. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, January 2, 1927.

203. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, October 1, 1926.

204. Ako file 427. On March 17, 1925, Associate Pastor Van Dijk sent the Löb family (Halsterseweg 76) a telegram with the text: "Have asked to resign today." What he meant was that he had asked the bishop for permission to resign. It is odd that Van Dijk sent a telegram rather than coming to share the news in person.

205. Ako file 427, Associate Pastor Van Dijk wrote separate letters to Lutz and to Jenny, April 24, 1925.

After moving to Nieuw Borgvliet in the southeast section of the city in 1925, Lutz and Jenny came in contact with Pastor Vincent Kuijpers of the Holy Abbot Anthony Parish. He quickly noticed how socially active Lutz was and asked him to become secretary of the board of directors of the parish conference of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. Only men of irreproachable conduct could belong to this conference. Each member was given several "addresses" of families who were hard up for money. These families received material help, but the members of the conference also tried to keep them on the right track. The conference of Saint Vincent de Paul was also involved in founding Catholic elementary schools and furnishing libraries, and they sometimes contributed to the educational costs of children from poor families. During times of high unemployment, the conferences in Bergen op Zoom were active in providing work, in cooperation with Catholic industrialists.[206]

Lutz visited many persons in their homes, being stimulated by Jenny, who also visited poor families to see what they needed. Their oldest daughter, Lien, often accompanied her mother on these visits.[207] The reason why Jenny warned her sons George and Rob not to expect any big presents from Saint Nicholas was not just because of their own limited financial means, but more especially because of their religious and social involvement: helping poor people was more necessary.[208] Several years later, when she could leave more of the housekeeping tasks to her daughters and Anna, the maid, Jenny also offered her services as a midwife to poor families.[209]

206. B. Daeter, *Vincentiusvereniging Bergen op Zoom. 1849–1999. Anderhalve eeuw zorg voor de medemens, met name in Bergen op Zoom* [The Bergen op Zoom Conference of Saint Vincent de Paul, 1849–1999: 150 years of caring for one's fellow man, primarily in Bergen op Zoom] (Bergen op Zoom: Uitgeverij Daeter, 1999).

207. Ako file 427, letter, Lien to George = Br. Ignatius, 1926.

208. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George and Rob, December 1, 1923.

209. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, February 18, 1927.

As secretary of the parish conference of Saint Vincent de Paul, Lutz was responsible for correspondence with boarding schools and orphanages regarding payment of room and board for orphans who lived there. An elementary school in Bergen op Zoom, run by the Brothers of Huijbergen, was also subsidized by the conference.[210] At one point, Lutz was corresponding with a certain Br. Eugène regarding a situation, presumably involving one of the Netten children, which had led to a disagreement. Br. Eugène replied that special arrangements could be made "because of who you are and your intervention in this situation."[211]

Lutz's administrative activities also included membership on the board of directors of the West-Brabant branch of the Association for Large Families, an organization which advocated and promoted their own particular interests, and offered mutual help and recreational activities.[212] Jenny's participation included directing plays and concerts for local members of this association.[213] Religious and moral formation was an important pillar of this organization. Along with other Catholic

210. Cf. Jacobs, *Gaandeweg aaneengesmeed* [Gradually Bound into One], 79.

211. Ako file 427, letter to Lutz, April 27, 1928.

212. Cf. Van der Plas, *Uit het rijke Roomsche leven* [Excerpts From "Het Rijke Roomse Leven"]; H. Westhoff, *Geestelijke bevrijders. Nederlandse katholieken en hun beweging voor geestelijke volksgezondheid in de twintigste eeuw* [Spiritual liberators: Dutch Catholics and their movement for spiritual public health in the twentieth century], Nijmegen, 1996; *Rapport aan de Nederlandse Bisschoppen over de situatie in huwelijk en gezin* [Report to the Dutch Bishops on the situation of marriage and family], published by the work group "Research Marriage and Family" established by the National Center for Catholic Action, November 25, 1960.

213. *Dagblad De Stem* [The Daily Newspaper: The Voice], March 15, 1958, included an article about the amateur dramatist Rudolf Tebbens, who remembered making his stage debut when he was seven years old, acting in plays and children's operas for members of the Association for Large Families. Pastor Van Eekelen was the driving force "and Mrs. Löb, of whom the older inhabitants of Bergen still cherish fond memories, was in charge."

organizations, this association fiercely opposed birth control and fought against Neo-Malthusianism.[214]

Another of Lutz's activities included raising funds for the endowment of Catholic education at the college and university level. He held an administrative position in a regional organization: The University Fund.[215] Regular campaigns and collections were held to draw attention to the importance of this aspect of Catholic emancipation. The establishment of the Catholic University in Nijmegen (1923) and the Catholic College in Tilburg (1927) constituted the crowning of these efforts. Thereafter, it promoted the further expansion and professional application of knowledge and science in Catholic circles.

Around 1927, Lutz and Jenny became involved in the activities of the Eucharistic Crusade, a revival movement within the Catholic Church.[216] This movement originated in Flanders, where the priest,

214. Cf. F. van de Ven, "Positieve bestrijding van het Neo-Malthusianisme door de overheid, pers en individu" [Positive opposition to Neo-Malthusianism by governmental authorities, the press, and individuals], in *Handelingen van het Rooms-Katholiek Diocesaan Congres over het huwelijk* [Acts of the Roman Catholic Diocesan Congress on Marriage] (Den Bosch, 1928), 50–76. Mirre Bots and Maria Noordman give a general outline in *Moederschap als balsem: ervaringen van katholieke vrouwen met huwelijk, sexualiteit en moederschap in de eerste helft van deze eeuw* [Motherhood as Balsam: experiences of Catholic women with marriage, sexuality, and motherhood in the first half of this century], (Amsterdam, 1981).

215. Ako file 427, letter, Father to George, December 28, 1928.

216. P. Quaghebeur, De Eucharistische Kruistocht [The Eucharistic Crusade], in: R. Ghesquière, P. Quaghebeur, ed., *Averbode, een uitgever apart. 1877–2002* [Averbode, a different kind of publishing house, 1877–2002] (Louvain, 2002), = Kadoc Artes 6, 92–162; J. van Haver, *Voor U, beminde gelovigen. Het Rijke Roomse Leven in Vlaanderen. 1920–1950* [For you, beloved faithful. "Het Rijke Roomse Leven" in Flanders, 1920–1950] (Tielt, 1995), 196–97; F. Glorius, *F. B. J. Frencken en de Katholieke Jeugd Vereeniging. De zorg voor meisjes met name in het bisdom Breda, 1927–1940* [F. B. J. Frencken and the Catholic Youth Association: Care for young girls, especially in the diocese of Breda, 1927–1940] (Tilburg, 1979); Jacobs, *Gaandeweg aaneengesmeed*

Edward Poppe[217] (1890–1924), in cooperation with several others, developed a catechetical approach for children which fit in well with the renewal of Eucharistic devotion that had been growing since the beginning of the century and to some extent with the goals of the liturgical movement as well. For Poppe, the most characteristic goal of the movement was winning young people back to the faith and/or preserving them in the faith. Using core groups, he wanted to organize a spiritual crusade against the proliferating secularization and de-Christianization which was accompanying the increasing industrialization and migration to the cities. Frequent communion and devotion to our Lady were "weapons" in this crusade. In addition, the young people who were participating were asked to carry out at least one good resolution each day. The early death of Edward Poppe, the driving force behind this "crusade," added the luster of total sacrifice for God to the movement. His message was spread further by means of the periodical *De Bode* [The Messenger], as well as numerous prayer books and catechisms; those who put this message into practice were called "catechists."

This movement, which had originated in Flanders, was propagated in an altered form in the nearby diocese of Breda by Msgr. Frans Frencken (1886–1946).[218] He taught at the seminary in Hoeven, where Willem Asselbergs was studying at the time. In things spiritual, Poppe was an example for Frencken; in 1920, they met personally.

[Gradually Bound into One], 86–87; M. Derks and J. Eijt, *Gezonde gezinnen. Sociaal werk door de Vereniging van Catechisten, 1928–2003* [Healthy Families: Social Work by the Association of Catechists, 1928–2003] (Nijmegen, 2004).

217. K. Weekers, *Edward Poppe. Een bloemlezing* [Edward Poppe, an anthology], (Utrecht, 2001); L. de Maere, *Priester van vuur. Edward Poppe anders bekeken* [Priest of Fire: Another way of looking at Edward Poppe] (Brussel, 1999).

218. To get an impression of how Frencken was viewed by his contemporaries, see A. Scheermakers, "Bij het zilveren priesterfeest van directeur F. B. J. Frencken" [On the occasion of Director F. B. J. Frencken's Silver Jubilee of ordination], *Katholieke Illustratie* [Catholic Illustrated (a weekly Catholic periodical)] 69, no. 33 (May 16, 1935).

Poppe regularly wrote letters to Frencken about his work with the Eucharistic Crusade. According to Poppe, action and inner ascesis had to go together or, as he put it, "apostolate through sacrifice and sacrifice for the apostolate." He inspired Frencken to work for young people, especially those who worked in the factories. In 1924, the first group of Eucharistic Crusaders was organized among young girls who worked at the Kwatta chocolate factories in Breda. Other groups followed in the Hero apple juice factories, the Dutch synthetic fibers industry, and various companies in Roosendaal and Bergen op Zoom. With the cooperation of the employers, Frencken set up so-called "EK houses" ("EK" being the abbreviation for "Eucharistische Kruistocht," Dutch for "Eucharistic Crusade"), with a chapel and a statue of Our Lady, as places where the girls who worked in the factories could be received during their meal breaks. Outside working hours, courses were also offered, teaching basic housekeeping skills, child care, and child raising. Several employers and priests were involved with this movement, but what was special about Frencken's project was the specific, active role he assigned to women. He recruited women as catechists to initiate contacts with the young girls who worked in the factories. The Catholic mother was regarded as being the central link for education in the faith and the expansion of the church, and Frencken regarded religious and moral instruction as a way to raise these factory girls to be good Catholic mothers.

During Breda's diocesan Catholic Day held on July 1, 1923, in Bergen op Zoom, the Eucharistic Crusade received a great deal of attention due to the fact that Frencken was the principal speaker for the occasion. Chaplain A. Buysrogge of the Saint Anthony's Institution in Bergen op Zoom, one of Frencken's first local supporters, stimulated the establishment of super-parochial core groups of catechists. Lutz and Jenny would become involved with this program a few years later. They were quite enthusiastic about this movement of small groups of active, self-conscious believers with their regular participation in church services, combined with frequent communion

and a desire for sacrifice and ascesis in their personal lives. They viewed this as a battle, as a crusade against moral degeneration and apostasy. The missionary tendency within this movement—namely, winning and keeping young working-class girls for the Catholic faith—fit in with Lutz and Jenny's urge to give testimony.

The Association of Catechists of the Eucharistic Crusade was formally established in 1928. In doing so, Frencken laid the foundation for what he regarded as his most important work: strengthening Catholic family life as a counterbalance to the dangers of modernity, secularization, and apostasy.[219] The core groups of the Eucharistic Crusade expanded into a massive movement known as the Catholic Youth Movement, which later became part of Catholic Action, an organization promoted by church authorities.[220] Since there already was a group for young boys called the Young Workman, the Catholic Youth Movement remained more for young girls.[221]

In 1927, several catechists in Bergen op Zoom initiated activities directed expressly toward young girls who worked in the factories. They acquired a house on Zuivelplein [the name of a street] and furnished it as an EK house where the young girls could come during their lunch breaks, as well as for formation meetings and relaxation. During that first year, about two hundred girls visited this EK house regularly, and the number increased each year. The catechists visited girls who were living in neighboring villages and who did laundry and housekeeping work in Bergen op Zoom. The catechists went to these villages once a month to provide a program of reflection and recollection: first the Eucharist was celebrated, fol-

219. Derks, *Gezonde gezinnen* [Healthy Families], 82.

220. Glorius, *Frencken en de KJV* [Frencken and the Catholic Youth Association]; P. de Haan, *Van volgzame elitestrijder tot kritische gelovige. Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Actie in Nederland (1934–1966)* [From Docile Elite Zealot to Critical Believer: History of Catholic Action in the Netherlands (1834–1966)], (Nijmegen, 1994).

221. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, February 21, 1931.

lowed by breakfast for everyone; then a specific topic was discussed, followed by time for relaxation. A visit from the pastor of the parish was often appreciated. Various courses were developed and offered in the EK house. There were also meetings for engaged couples (marriage preparation), evenings for parents, afternoons for playing, and theatrical productions and films in the evenings. These latter were preferably held at the same time as the fair and the carnival, so as to offer a worthy alternative. As time went on, classes were also added in housekeeping tasks, handicrafts, and child care. The catechists visited the girls in their homes, and in this way became acquainted with their social and religious backgrounds. They offered advice and helped them find appropriate work.

Lutz's involvement with the Eucharistic Crusade and the Association of Catechists consisted primarily in his participation in the discussions and prayer meetings of the active core group in Bergen op Zoom. He also provided religious formation for the catechists, translating theological works which would better equip them:

> I'm translating another booklet for our group leaders in the EK, something they can use to acquire some theological knowledge: "Les dogmes, générateurs de la piété"[222] by Tanquerey, an Oratorian (from Saint Sulpice). I've translated the title as "Dogma, the foundation of piety." I don't have a publisher yet, but I'll try Brakkenstein, the ones who sell all the EK books, and see if they will take it on.[223]

Lutz sent this translation to the bishop and received an appreciative response from the vicar-general,[224] Van Oers. He was grateful and

222. Translated in English as "Doctrine and Devotion."

223. Ako file 426, Undated letter, Father to the boys, October or September 1932. By "Brakkenstein," Lutz meant the Fathers of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament (S. S. S.), who had a monastery near Nijmegen. They were active in the liturgical apostolate and published books and brochures for that work.

224. Vicar-general: the highest official in a diocese after the diocesan bishop.

presumed that the work would contribute to the formation of lay apostles, which was the way Van Oers referred to the leaders within Catholic movements.[225] There is no indication, however, that Lutz's translation was ever published.

One of the goals the Eucharistic Crusade had in common with the liturgical movement was active participation of the lay faithful in the liturgy. In 1932, Lutz visited Bishop Hopmans with other leaders of the EK to discuss this subject and to ask how far they were allowed to go with their men and boys in the use of the Dutch language in the prayers of the Mass, themselves participating in the Mass, rather than just giving short responses to the priest's Latin Mass.[226] The bishop found that a dialogue Mass was a step too far:

> Start with the prayers recited after Holy Mass, orderly and in unison, recto tono. Later a sung Mass. What's essential is the liturgy of the Holy Mass in general, and the Mass for each Sunday in particular, as a means of offering one's self, and continuing to live that offering throughout the entire day.

Lutz very obediently followed the bishop's decision. He found that "this goal is still high enough for us laymen." Lutz faithfully attended the meetings of the core group of the Eucharistic Crusade.[227] In 1932 he was able to train a new group of leaders "using Dom Marmion's *Christ, Life of the Soul*."[228] It was as if he were fulfilling the role of spiritual director for the local core group of catechists in the Eucharistic Crusade, which is significant, since at that time, only priests were expected to perform such a task. Apparently Lutz enjoyed a certain respect as a teacher and believing intellectual.

225. Ako file 428, letter, March 1, 1932.

226. Ako file 428, letter, Father and Mother to George, December 18, 1932.

227. Witness the letters from Jenny to George dated January 10, 1930 (Ako file 428) and September 24, 1933 (Ako file 429).

228. Ako file 426, Undated correspondence, letter, Lutz to the boys, September or October 1932. He was then translating the biography of Dom Marmion.

Chaplain Buysrogge regarded him as a spiritual leader,[229] with whom he made several trips to monasteries in Louvain (Keizersberg Abbey, also known as Mont César Abbey) and Paris. They also visited Lisieux together, where the "little" Teresa[230] was venerated.

According to Jenny, Lutz had been in contact with Edward Poppe in the early 1920s. She referred to him as an "old acquaintance" of Lutz, but did not elaborate on the nature of their contact.[231] As far as spirituality is concerned, Poppe and Lutz were certainly a good match, especially in their emphasis on sacrifice and ascesis, as well as their common dedication to youth. Jenny herself attended the meetings of the Eucharistic Crusade on a regular basis and helped with their dramatic and musical productions. During 1927–1928, daughter Lien often visited the EK house in Bergen op Zoom. The youngest daughter, Paula, became a member of the girls' group of the Catholic Youth Movement a few years later.[232] Her brother Hans was active in Boy Scouting, which was connected with the Catholic Youth Movement, and for a while, Lutz was the local scout master for the Rover Scouts.[233]

Jenny's church activities and other faith-related activities were generally connected with her artistic talents and interests. She placed her talents at the disposal of the children's choirs that sang during specific services held at the parish church: the girls' choir sang at the services of the Congregation of Mary; the boys' choir sang for the Sacred Heart devotions. That was not always easy. The Catholic choir boys made a lot of noise and showed no respect at all for Jenny as their leader. They didn't even respect the sacristan. Jenny also had

229. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, December 11, 1929.

230. Saint Thérèse of Lisieux, the "Little Flower" (1873–1897), a Carmelite nun from Lisieux, France. She was called "little" to distinguish her from the "big" Saint Teresa of Avila (1515–1582).

231. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny, February 16, 1935.

232. Ako file 428, letter, May 23, 1932.

233. Ako file 429, letter, November 20, 1934.

trouble with "those rude factory girls" (in the EK house presumably) who only wanted to chatter about dancing and did not want to be bothered with more serious matters such as religion.[234] In spite of that, she later once again accepted the leadership of a girls' choir for the Congregation of Mary, and they came to her home to practice.[235]

Jenny also helped organize and direct plays and dramatic presentations put on by Catholic youth groups: the Eucharistic Crusade, the Scouts, and the Association for Large Families. "Bright-natured and with a good sense of humor, she devoted herself to rehearsing dramas and operettas with the young ladies of Bergen op Zoom."[236] In October 1929, she had led five performances of the play "Jantje in Modderstad" [Little John in Mud City];[237] in January 1930, she was responsible for a play for "the Asselbergs girls, the Wiegering girls, and Julie de Clerq;"[238] in June 1930, she helped with the performance of the drama "Veronica."[239] That was the last time she wanted to produce that sort of play, and in September of that year she bade farewell to all the girls' clubs.[240] Turning away from an active, artistic-ecclesiastical and social life, Jenny shifted her attention more and more to a withdrawn, ascetic life. In doing so, she was following her husband Lutz's way of life.

Jenny tended to be attracted to devotions. Lutz had already warned her in 1922, when he was in Spitsbergen, not to let herself get carried away in her devotional faith. Nonetheless, Jenny was swept up in the increasing devotion to Sr. Thérèse of Lisieux, whose autobiography, "The Story of a Soul," exerted a strong influence on the lives of the ordinary faithful who were trying to find the way to God in the little activities of daily life. Jenny passed this devotion on to her family. In Halsteren, they

234. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, June 11, 1929.
235. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, January 10, 1930.
236. Gieles, De Vreugdebloem [The Flower of Happiness], 55.
237. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, October 13, 1929.
238. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, January 10, 1930.
239. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, June 13, 1930.
240. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, September 21, 1930.

lived near the Carmelite monastery, where the beatification of Thérèse in 1923, followed by her canonization in 1925, received a great deal of emphasis. Perhaps Jenny saw a good example for her daughters in the holy Thérèse and her four sisters, all of whom entered a monastery.

Jenny intently followed the news about the appearances of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1933 in the village of Beauraing in Wallonia,[241] signing up to take part in a parish pilgrimage to the site. The fact that Pastor Jooren from Saint Joseph's parish and his assistant, De Weerd, would be accompanying the group of pilgrims was a comfort to their daughter Lien, who feared that her mother might fall into ecstasy in Beauraing.[242] Jenny continued to follow the events in Beauraing and kept her children up to date on the stories of healings which were recounted there.[243] According to Jenny, Lutz did have a place for devotion in his faith—he cherished an intense devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary—but he did not let it show. However; he did see to it that a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary was placed in the school.

3.3 Under the Spell of the Contemplative Life

As early as his student days in Amsterdam, Lutz had had the tendency to occupy himself with spiritual matters.[244] Later, when he had a large family and almost all of his children had entered the monastery, this interest would return and explicitly move into the foreground. Lutz and Jenny participated in church activities with full conviction, but as time went by, both of them gradually fell more and more under the spell of contemplative religious life. Various occurrences, persons, and activities were influential in this process.

Lutz showed his interest in the person and writings of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux in his contacts with the seminarian Willem

241. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, January 18, 1933.
242. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, July 13, 1933.
243. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, September 15, 1933.
244. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait].

Asselbergs.[245] He spoke of contemplative monastic life and its special particular merit with the associate pastor, Anton van Dijk. At that time, Catholics generally viewed religious life in a monastic community as being the best way to live out one's faith: it was the ideal. The other states of life were, from a religious point of view, subordinate, even including the so highly acclaimed life of a missionary in the missions. Although married life and a family with many children were necessary for the growth of the church, sexual abstinence was more highly esteemed in the religious sense. Within this religious sphere, life in a monastery was viewed as being most in keeping with a total surrender to God. Monastic life was the model for a life of faith in the parish as well as in the family. An adapted form of the monastic hours of prayer was used as a guide for daily prayer outside the monastery as well. Lutz and Jenny were certainly not the only Catholics who oriented their life of faith around monastic practices, but for them specifically, there was the added personal dimension of their ever-increasing family ties with the Trappists and Trappistines.

Lutz began to immerse himself in monastic spirituality by studying the literature on the subject. In 1927, he translated *L'idéal de l'âme fervente* [The Ideal of the Fervent Soul] by Canon A. Saudreau (1859–1946), which enjoyed a certain popularity in monastic circles of that time. Saudreau identified perfection with the mystical life; his understanding of mysticism was quite broad, and he believed that all persons were called to this mystical life. The Dutch translation of this work was published as *Ideaal Zieleleven* in 1928 by Our Lady of Koningshoeven Abbey in Tilburg, but with no mention of the name of the translator. Since this book was used by the Trappists for spiritual formation, Lutz's sons would also read it. The youngest son,

245. In 1925, Asselbergs was translating Saint Bernard's *On Loving God*. See A. Roes, *Een schaduw die verschuift. Leven en werk van de jonge Anton van Duinkerken* [A Shifting Shadow: Life and Work of the Young Anton van Duinkerken] (Baarn, 1984), especially 16–17.

Hans, received a copy from his father several years later as a prize for his studies in geometry at Saint Bernard's secondary school in Echt.[246]

Koningshoeven Abbey had sent copies of this book to several monasteries and religious institutes on approval. Lutz received praise for his translation: first of all from Dom Simon and his fellow monks and then from Chaplain G. Vermolen of the Sainte Marie te Huybergen Institute, who wrote Lutz a postcard.[247] Vermolen knew Lutz through his contacts with the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. He saw Saudreau's line of thought as being related to the spirituality of the Eucharistic Crusade, in which the grace of the Eucharist held a central place, and he promised to recommend the book whenever an opportunity presented itself. Fr. Vitus also wrote a thank-you letter.[248] He was a Capuchin from the monastery in Udenhout, where Lutz's son Robert was then living as Br. Benjamin. A copy of the book had also been sent to the bishop of Breda. His vicar-general, J. van Oers, responded with a short thank-you letter on March 25, 1928, saying that he would elaborate further after having read the book, but nothing ever came of a more substantial response.[249] Fr. De Jong also requested a copy of the translation, while at the same time exhorting Lutz to be careful about studying and translating theological works, putting him in his place as a layman and amateur theologian. He advised him "to let a theologian read through works dealing with mysticism. In this area, one can do a great deal of damage very quickly."[250]

As a means of finding his own orientation within monastic writings, Lutz studied the works of Otto Cohausz, SJ (1872–1938), who was working in Berlin.[251] Fr. Cohausz gave Lutz permission

246. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, July 29, 1931.
247. Ako file 427, letter, G. Vermolen, March 24, 1928.
248. Ako file 427, letter, Fr. Vitus, February 15, 1928.
249. Ako file 427, letter, Van Oers to Lutz Löb, March 25, 1928.
250. Ako file 427, letter, De Jong to Lutz, February 23, 1928.
251. Since 1923, Fr. Cohausz had been writing the introductory editorial

to translate his works,[252] but nothing was ever published. Lutz also considered translating the works of the Trappist Dom Vital Lehodey (1857–1948) and having them published, but nothing ever came of this either. Apparently Lutz had studied various theological authors who wrote about ascesis, mysticism, and the spiritual life. Mr. Smits, the director of his school, had started helping Lutz learn Latin in 1927 so that he would be able to study theological works in that language. Lutz also showed some interest in Hebrew. He asked his son George if he, with the assistance of his teachers, might be able to help him, but Lutz never got any further than the alphabet and a few words.

During the first years of their life in Bergen op Zoom, Lutz and Jenny lived out their faith primarily by publicly taking part in church activities. Through their own witness, they tried to move others to convert to the Catholic faith. Lutz combined the work of an active apostolate with the study of contemplative religious life. Their sons George and Robert felt called to become missionaries, and their daughter Lien was living with the sisters at the teachers' school. All of them had an active religious life in prospect. However, the meeting with Dom Simon Dubuisson and the Trappists of Koningshoeven in August 1926 initiated a shift which would profoundly change their lives. Lutz and Jenny fell under the spell of contemplative religious life, and they then held up this ideal to their children. At the same time, they were also taking into account the material prospects (or the lack thereof) of the family. Lutz and Jenny wanted to give their children an opportunity to further their

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for *Theologisch-Praktische Quartalschrift* [Practical Theological Quarterly]. In addition, he collaborated on *Chrysologus*, a periodical of homilies; he arranged for the publication of several brochures (*Liga-Broschüren*), which were printed in Steyl; and he wrote articles for the periodical of the *Herz-Jesu-Gebetsapostolat* [Sacred Heart of Jesus Apostleship of Prayer].

252. Ako file 427, letter, Cohausz to Lutz, February 29, 1928, written from Berlin.

education, but the family's financial resources were not sufficient to enable them to realize this goal for all of their children. They were concerned about how they might be able to assure their children of a good life and a good future.

It was Jenny especially who seemed to become more and more convinced of the religious ideal which regarded the best choice in life to be that of a total gift of oneself to God in the form of turning away from the "world." Completely in line with the dualistic vision of that time, she viewed God and the world, the church and society, as opposites. For her, it just seemed best for her children that they devote themselves entirely to God, and the most appropriate way to do so would be to enter a monastery. Lutz did not express this religious ideal so explicitly. At first, he wondered if the choice of contemplative religious life was really the right choice for George and Rob,[253] but he did not seem to pose this question (any more) regarding the choice of a way of life for the other children. Jenny noticed that at least some of her children had trouble persevering in monastic life. She exhorted them to pray a lot so that they would be able to stand firm.

Lutz and Jenny's religious zeal, together with Jenny's dominating influence, played an important role in their children's choices for a radical lifestyle. In addition, there was the fact that one or more children choosing the religious state increased one's esteem in a Catholic milieu. In these Catholic surroundings, Lutz and Jenny had to justify neither their own behavior nor the choices made by their children as to the paths they would follow through life—they only evoked great admiration. However, among family members, there were more questions, but since they so seldom had contact with each other, these questions were never discussed. Indeed, Lutz and Jenny quite consciously avoided any discussion about their religious beliefs and the ways in which they led their children.[254]

253. Ako file 427, letter, Lutz to Jenny, August 22, 1926.

254. Ako file 427, letter, Lutz to Paul, December 11, 1926.

Associate Pastor Anton van Dijk entered Koningshoeven Abbey in 1925 as Fr. Leo. Although he knew the Löb children, and was aware of the fact that George was having trouble keeping up with his studies at the apostolic school run by the Priests of the Sacred Heart, it is not really possible to trace his role in the choices made by the Löb family. Nonetheless, we can posit that, convinced of the rightness of his own choice to leave the "world" for the monastery, he most likely talked with the abbot, Dom Simon, about the Löb family, mentioning that there were probably one or more monastic vocations to be found among the children. Fr. Leo was also probably the one who brought Lutz in contact with Dom Simon and, in so doing, laid a connecting link between the interests and concerns of both of them. It was primarily due to the warmth of their introduction to Dom Simon that Lutz and Jenny, along with all their children, became completely focused on the path of contemplative religious life. Dom Simon was also looking to his own interests: he was making special efforts to recruit new members for his monastic community.

Ernest Joseph Dubuisson was born on July 6, 1876, in Moescroen, Belgium. His father was a Walloon, his mother was Flemish, but they usually spoke French at home. The family owned a large farm, but none of the sons wanted to take over the farm. At twenty-one years of age, Ernest Joseph entered the Trappist monastery of Scourmont, in Wallonia, with the intention of becoming a lay brother. The abbot, however, received him as a choir novice,[255] which meant that he could also begin studying for the priesthood. He received the name Simon at his profession in 1899. In 1904, he was ordained to the priesthood by the former assistant bishop of Rheims, Augustine Marre, who was then the abbot general of the Trappists.

255. Choir novice: an aspirant who has been accepted for the official trial period which precedes becoming a member of the choir (those monks whose primary task is to sing the prayers of the Divine Office).

This same Augustine Marre appointed Dubuisson superior of Koningshoeven in 1909 in order to avert a crisis there.[256] In Scourmont Abbey, where all the rules and regulations were followed quite strictly, he had served as cellarer,[257] and then as prior since 1904. The higher superiors believed that Koningshoeven now needed the fruits of that experience, but it took a while before all the members of that community really accepted him, due to the fact that the community had not been consulted regarding his appointment. In 1913, Dom Simon received the abbatial blessing.

Dom Simon introduced a strict discipline in Koningshoeven, taking Scourmont's monastic observances as example. During the period 1910–1920, the Trappists of Koningshoeven concentrated on strengthening their material and financial foundation. Following this period of reorganization, they could then proceed with renewal and expansion: the brewery, as their most important source of income, was renovated and expanded in 1926–1927; in 1928, a chapter room was added; and in 1930, an additional cloister was built.

The monastery's crisis situation around 1909 had negative consequences for its growth. Very few choir postulants[258] had entered, and many of the lay brothers left after World War I. A larger community was needed to give the monastery a sufficiently solid base for further expansion, so Dom Simon welcomed prospective candidates magnanimously, even receiving young boys as oblates.[259]

In 1923 Dom Simon began to accept boys between twelve and fifteen years of age, with the monastery paying for their education

256. Terstegge, *Honderd jaar Koningshoeven* [100 years Koningshoeven], 92 ff.

257. Cellarer: the monastic official responsible for financial and economic matters, who is also in charge of provisions.

258. (Choir) postulant: someone who has requested admission to a monastic community, with the intention of being accepted as a choir monk or nun, and who then undergoes a trial period of at least six months.

259. Oblate: a child raised in the monastery, with the intention of later entering the community.

in Echt. A boarding school was located there, under the direction of another Trappist monastery, Saint Joseph's Abbey, and the superiors of the Cistercian communities in the Netherlands and Belgium were accustomed to sending their future novices to this school for a few years. Since the various monastic communities provided qualified teachers for this program of studies, the quality of their education was reasonably good. The program of studies in Echt, as well as life in the boarding school, was oriented toward entering the monastery at a later date. In addition to studies and recreation, there were regular times of prayer and silence. The boys also began learning the Trappists' own sign language. But even though the primary goal of this program of studies was the formation of future monks and priests, some boys who were considering a career in civil service also attended this secondary school. Dom Simon would recruit young boys and let them study at the secondary school level for a few years in Echt. Most of the time these boys did not finish the entire program of studies. They would be pulled out of school after three years and sent to the monastery for the rest of their monastic formation. Dom Simon wanted to build up Koningshoeven into a larger community with more manpower, and these new recruits provided for a more balanced community. They also accepted Dom Simon's leadership without any problems. He made sure that he maintained good relationships with his students in Echt by regularly bringing them to the monastery during their school vacations and treating them in a fatherly manner. During the years 1923–1930, there were twenty-eight boys from Koningshoeven studying in Echt, and all of them eventually entered the monastery. Dom Simon was quite lenient in his policy of accepting candidates, even admitting boys who later appeared not to have been suited for monastic life.

Ernst (and later Hans) Löb were among the students whom Koningshoeven sent to Echt. They went when they were twelve years old, as soon as they had finished their elementary schooling. Ernst would remain there for three years and successfully complete his program of studies; Hans dropped out of school early.

The abbot of Koningshoeven regarded Lutz Löb as a fascinating man in many respects: he "provided" the monastery with several sons, and later also several daughters; he himself regularly came to the monastery to make retreats, where he became fascinated with contemplative religious life and ascetic and monastic literature. Dom Simon highly esteemed Lutz, and he let this show.[260] Lutz, for his part, also reverenced and respected Dom Simon for his ecclesiastical status as abbot. In July 1927, he and Dom Simon went to Echt together to attend the ceremonies marking the end of the school year, when prizes were awarded to the best students. Lutz was treated with deference, as is evidenced by his being admitted within the monastic enclosure,[261] where he and Dom Simon were received by the local abbot. Lutz was given a place on the podium, among the teachers, while the other parents sat in the audience, and the students from Koningshoeven presented themselves to both Dom Simon and Lutz. On this occasion, Lutz was allowed to award prizes to his son Ernst for his accomplishments in Latin, Dutch, and religion.

As more and more children from the Löb family found a place in the schools and monasteries of the Trappists and Trappistines, the bond between the family and Dom Simon became stronger. Family members could regularly ride along with Dom Simon in a small bus to the Trappistine abbey in Chimay. During such "recruiting trips" for young women, Dom Simon showed himself to be a generous tour guide: the sometimes brusque and strict abbot could then be quite attentive and obliging. The Dutch girls in Chimay regarded him as their benefactor.

260. The photos in which they posed together form a visual expression of this: in those days, it was rather unusual for a layman to be photographed with an abbot.

261. Enclosure: that part of the monastery which is separated from the outside world.

In 1931, Lutz was translating a biography of Dom Columba Marmion (1858–1923),[262] abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Maredsous, who had died in the odor of holiness.[263] He had been born in Dublin and was elected abbot of Maredsous in 1909. His three most important books were *Christ, the Life of the Soul*, *Christ in His Mysteries*, and *Christ, the Ideal of the Monk*, the latter especially being used in monastic study courses. Lutz had met Marmion's biographer, Dom Raymond Thibaut, during one of his visits to the Benedictine monastery in Louvain.[264] Lutz's translation of his book appeared in print in 1932, published by Koningshoeven Abbey.[265] Working on this extensive biography must have certainly influenced Lutz's own ideas concerning the spiritual life.

This translation work, which was subsequently published by the monastery, strengthened the bonds between Dom Simon and the Löb family, and led to Lutz's becoming acquainted with several monks in the various Trappist monasteries in the Netherlands and Belgium. Dom Simon had less interest in Jenny. As a woman without any special intellectual baggage or possibilities, she was of little use to the abbey. Perhaps she also adopted too much of an air of independence and self-awareness, and that would have been a reason for Dom Simon to hold her at a distance.

In her letters to George, Jenny mentioned her own desire to enter a monastery early on, but since she and her husband had obligations toward their children, she would have to remain "in the world."

262. R. Thibaut, *Een meester van het geestelijk leven. Dom Columba Marmion, Abt van Maredsous (1858–1923)* [A Master of the Spiritual Life: Dom Columba Marmion, Abbot of Maredsous], trans. Lutz Löb (Tilburg/Amsterdam, 1932).

263. Pope John Paul II beatified Dom Marmion in 2000.

264. Ako file 428, letter from Jenny and Lutz to George, September 24, 1931.

265. Ako file 428. Gift copies were sent to Msgr. Hopmans and vicar-general J. van Oers, both of whom replied with a short thank-you note: February 29, 1932, and March 1, 1932.

Nonetheless, with all her daughters in the monastery, she sighed, saying that she could already see herself there with them: "Pray that our dear Lord will let me enter with our Pop. I can already see myself in my habit; I'm already longing for my straw mattress."[266] She herself hoped to enter with the last of her daughters, and she was of the opinion that "Adée would follow her sisters when she turned fifteen."[267] Her spiritual ideals were intermingled with her motherly desires to be near her children. After a visit to the monastery in Chimay, where her daughters Lien and Door were at the time, she wrote: "I really would have liked to stay with the girls in Chimay; you all don't have any idea how attractive the silent monastic life is to me."[268] She missed her monastic children a great deal: "every evening my thoughts are with all of you."[269] Following Lutz's death, she considered the possibility of entering the Trappistine monastery as an oblate. Lutz had never shown any desire to enter the monastery himself, but actually he had already been living as a monk in the world for a long time: he ate no meat, he drank no alcohol, he did not smoke, he was moderate in all that he did, he spent a great deal of time praying and studying spiritual works. Lutz and Jenny were aware of the fact that the well-known convert, Pieter van der Meer de Walcheren, and his wife had spent some time in a monastery, and they had regarded that as a religious choice. Apparently, at that time, there were other married couples who placed the monastic ideal above their marriage, and who put this ideal into practice as soon as they were no longer responsible for the immediate care of their children.[270]

266. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, November 1928. "Pop" was the nickname of her youngest daughter, Paula.

267. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, February 12, 1928. Adée = Deetje, their foster child.

268. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, April 16, 1929.

269. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, October 13, 1929.

270. Ako file 429. In 1933, Pieter van der Meer entered the Benedictine

Around 1930, Jenny's life did an about-face and she began to withdraw from all her artistic and social activities.[271] She stopped performing musically, she no longer directed choirs and singers, and she discontinued her activities associated with dramatic presentations, with the exception of special occasions when she was still willing to lend a helping hand. That was the case, for example, when a concert was given on behalf of a fund-raising project to help those who were out of work during the crisis years.[272] After 1930, she became involved with the care and formation of converts to the Catholic Church in Oosterhout,[273] the sort of care which Lutz and Jenny themselves had sorely missed after their baptism. She was asked to lead a "triduum for the Catholic woman" (a three-day program of formation in the faith).[274] In 1934, Jenny gave a lecture for young girls who were members of the Eucharistic Crusade about her "Way to Christ," the story of her conversion, with clear resonances of her own Jewish self-awareness. Paula was present during this lecture and was radiant with pride.[275] That same day Jenny also gave an hour-and-a-quarter lecture for young girls from the merchant class, and these girls gave her a standing ovation.

As already mentioned, in 1934 Lutz was diagnosed with a serious illness, which was treated in Middelburg. The persons working at the hospital noticed that Lutz endured his suffering with great patience and that he did not complain. According to Jenny, the head nurse had said, "I do believe we have a saint here in the hospital."[276]

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monastery in Oosterhout, and his wife entered Solesmes. Their daughter was a Benedictine nun in Oosterhout. Jenny wrote George about this in her letter of December 4, 1933.

271. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, September 21, 1930.

272. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, February 1, 1932.

273. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, March 21, 1931. She was entrusted with leading the groups which met during Holy Week.

274. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, February 1, 1932.

275. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, Good Friday 1934.

276. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to the boys, January 26, 1935.

In the meantime, they were also worried about Jos Juten, who had been in an automobile accident and was in the hospital in Breda with serious injuries. Jenny asked the boys to pray for him.[277] While Lutz himself was in the hospital in Middelburg, he asked about the condition of his friend Juten.[278]

In April 1935, Lutz's condition deteriorated. He returned to Bergen op Zoom, where he was admitted to the hospital for nursing care, and died there on April 6, 1935. During his life, he had been regarded as a devout man, and now that he was dead, his survivors idealized his life and his death.

Sr. Petronella van Sprang,[279] one of the nurses in that hospital, described Lutz's deathbed for his daughters in the monastery in Chimay.[280] She offered her condolences to the three girls, but at the same time congratulated them "for the good fortune of having had such a holy father in your midst." When his three sons came to visit him, they prayed several prayers together, out loud. After the family had been sent home to get some rest, Lutz asked the nurse first to fold his hands and then to place the cross from his rosary in his folded hands, for he could no longer do that himself. Later, he asked the nurse several times to help him kneel, but she told him that that was not possible, that she would kneel for him and pray. About a half hour after midnight, "the dying one murmured quietly but audibly, 'Mary . . . come, Mary . . . come.' Then he fixed his eyes on the crucifix and his last words were, 'My God . . . My God.'" The nurse asked him if she could now notify the family and he nodded. When she returned, he was no longer conscious. When the three boys arrived with Jenny and Paula, he had already died. According

277. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to the boys, January 20, 1935.

278. Ako file 429, letter, Lutz to Jenny, January 23, 1934.

279. Paulina Maria van Sprang, Sr. Petronella, Recollectine Penitente [Third Order of Saint Francis] of the Congregation of Bergen op Zoom, born in Tilburg in 1895, died during the evacuation on February 28, 1945.

280. Ako file 429, April 1935 (two pages which were later retyped).

to Jenny, "Father had wanted to die as a Trappist" (in other words, lying on the ground, praying).[281]

The members of the Association of Catechists of the Eucharistic Crusade, to whom Lutz had remained so faithful, assembled around the bier bearing his body to pray, calling on Lutz's intercession as if he were a saint. This group continued to hold novenas for months in the hopes of seeing prayers answered as a result of Lutz's intercession.[282]

The mention of Lutz's death in the House Chronicles of Koningshoeven Abbey among the events marking the year 1935 was rather exceptional,[283] since deaths of the monks' parents were usually never mentioned in the chronicles of the monastery.[284] He was described as being a "zealous convert from Judaism" and "generally esteemed as a noble-minded man, even regarded as a saint by those who knew him better."

Jenny promised her children that she would carry on in Lutz's spirit, continuing to work for the sanctification of their family. She sent the boys one of Lutz's old shirts and a lock of hair as relics.[285] George wanted all of his father's clothing to be kept in a big trunk.[286] Lutz's watch went to Ernst, his pen went to Lien, and his winter jacket was given to Hans to be altered to fit. Aunt Betsy Dom, Jenny's

281. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to the girls in Chimay, April 8, 1935; letter, Jenny to George, written from Chimay, May 12, 1935.

282. Ako file 430, letter, Jenny, January 5, 1936 or 1937 (fragment).

283. *Huiskroniek abdij Koningshoeven* [House Chronicles of Koningshoeven Abbey], 1935, 232.

284. This *Huiskroniek* [House Chronicles] was composed in 1959 by Fr. Seraphinus Lenssen, using various notes which had been made in the course of the years, so he was writing with the knowledge of the fateful events which had cost the lives of his fellow religious brothers and sisters who were members of the Löb family, as well as with the knowledge of how these events were regarded and described within monastic circles. Fr. Seraphinus probably added the mention of Lutz's death as an act of special piety.

285. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, April 11, 1935.

286. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to the girls in Chimay, April 12, 1935.

sister, had asked for one of Lutz's prayer books so she could learn the Lord's Prayer—apparently Lutz's death had further inflamed her interest in the Catholic faith. Jenny also got the impression that Lutz's brother Ernst and his wife, Esther, no longer regarded the Catholic faith with such strange suspicion.[287] According to Lutz's son Ernst, Uncle Ernst really knew quite a bit about the Catholic faith, and he maintained good contacts with a Jesuit priest in Katwijk. Aunt Esther, however, regarded religious persons as nothing more than "wooden dolls." From Ernst's statement that "his uncle and aunt were still involved in the Zionist movement and the National Jewish Revival," it appears that he did know what was going on in the larger society in those years. He regarded their involvement as being a consequence of the Jewish persecution in Germany.[288]

George Wiessing let his godson, George, know that he had just returned from his "holy father's" funeral in Bergen op Zoom, expressing his sympathy and closing with the remark that he considered himself fortunate to have such a friend in heaven.[289]

Fr. Stracke wrote an obituary for Lutz Löb, which appeared in the *H. Hartbode* [The Sacred Heart Messenger], published by the Jesuits in Belgium.[290] In that article, he quoted someone as saying that Lutz was not a convert, but rather someone who was "on the way to becoming a saint." As author, he regarded Lutz as his superior in holiness. Fr. Stracke pointed out that the other members of the Loeb and Van Gelder families "had remained Israelites and therefore it was difficult to include their names in a Catholic Obituary." As a lesson for his readers, he drew the following conclusion: "And so we learn that Grace is stronger than the oldest prejudices, and that Our Dear Lord sometimes finds his best sheep among those who used

287. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to the girls, April 28, 1935.

288. Ako file 429, letter, Ernst to the girls in Chimay, April 22, 1935.

289. Ako file 429, letter, George Wiessing to George, April 11, 1935.

290. Akh F Löb 1, Dr. A. Stracke, *Bode van het Heilig Hart* (Dutch edition of *Le Messager du Sacré-Coeur* [The Sacred Heart Messenger]).

to be 'wolves.'" Then he named all the children who had become monks and nuns, concluding that these converted Jews could serve as an example for many Catholics.

Even more remarkable than all of the above was the memorial speech given by Director J. Smits at the beginning of the teachers' meeting on April 17:[291]

> When the average ordinary man descends into the grave and a memorial service is held for him, one will mention his amiability toward his fellow men, his benevolence toward his colleagues, his pleasant manners, his sound character. If the deceased was a teacher, one will also praise his good relationships with his director and his fellow teachers, and his salutary influence on the students. However, Gentlemen, at this moment we find ourselves in an exceptional situation, for we are not commemorating an average ordinary man; we're diffidently devoting a word to the commemoration of a saint. I value this opportunity to openly declare that I sincerely believe in the holiness of this man.
>
> What a high level of holiness! Not a hint of bigotry, veiled pride, or hypocrisy, but a really virile saintliness, acceptable to the most critical intellect, the most sober skepticism.
>
> What was the foundation of this saintliness? *Abnega temetipsum et sequere me.* [Deny yourself and follow me.] To what a great extent did he comply with this directive, this old Evangelical Counsel! Deny yourself! Where the ego ends, that's where the realm of the spirit is just beginning. That's where true objectivity is just beginning, a sincere desire for godliness, real devotion. How far he had progressed

291. Akh F Löb 1, Address by Dr. J. R. L. Smits, director of the Roman Catholic secondary school in Bergen op Zoom, during the teachers' meeting on April 17, 1935, on the occasion of the death of their colleague Lutz Löb on April 6, 1935. Did he perhaps have Adolf Hitler and the developments in Nazi Germany in mind when he spoke of "false prophets"?

> in the kingdom of this spirit! What heights he had climbed! The feelings which immediately inspire us are especially those of gratitude, gratitude that we were privileged to know this man from so close by. His memory is a precious possession for all of us. The impression made by his spiritualized personality will never pass away; it is a continual interior sermon for us. In the turbulent tempestuousness of time, surrounded by false prophets and false christs, whenever our faith in the eternal truth or the mission of God's church might be shaken, then that indestructible impression, which his life of sacrifice has made on us, will once again bestow on us the peace of concord. We are grateful for all that he did; but even more, we are grateful for what he *was* and for what he will be for us forever. I thank you.

Lutz's qualities as a teacher are barely mentioned here. The real significance of this commemoratory text lies in the strength of Smits's expression of his appreciation of Lutz: it seems as if he were canonizing him. He mentions nothing about the fact, undoubtedly known to his colleagues, that six of Lutz's children had entered the monastery—that was not the source of Lutz's holiness, according to Smits—and nothing about Lutz's translations, nor his study of theological works. Smits saw Lutz's holiness primarily in his self-denial. Apparently it was his ascetical lifestyle, his contemplative modesty and discretion, which led the director of the school to refer to him as "holy." Smits did keep the memory of Lutz alive and, around 1954, saw to it that a portrait of him—a drawing—was hung in the teachers' room.[292]

292. This drawing is now in the possession of Loek van Broekhoven, Lutz Löb's grandson. On April 19, 1935, Jenny had already announced the fact that a portrait of Lutz would be hung in the teachers' room. A portrait painted by a certain Van der Velden was also mentioned in a letter from Jenny to George, dated July 24, 1935, but this painting has been lost.

The fact that Fr. Albert van der Heijden had sought Lutz's help in 1934 to proofread his manuscript of one hundred meditations is also worth mentioning.[293] Fr. Albert had not sent the last part of his booklet to Lutz because he was actually describing a portrait of Lutz in that section.[294] Although there was no literal allusion to Lutz in the book itself, the theme of self-denial, elaborated especially in that last section, was quite applicable to him. Fr. Albert died unexpectedly in December 1934, before the book appeared in print. The French translation, *Charité en tout: cent méditations concises sur l'état religieux*, appeared a few years later, and Lutz's contribution probably focused more on the translation than on the contents. This little book of meditations would become part of the personal spiritual reading for Trappist novices in Belgium and the Netherlands until about 1960.[295]

According to Jenny, several persons were planning to write about Lutz and to highlight his significance for the faith. One of these was Herman de Man.[296] Jenny herself was going to start working on a biography with Sr. Thomasita and Sr. Agnes from the teachers' school in Hoogerheide, but this apparently never reached publication.[297]

Several events took place after Lutz's death which were a culmination of the religious education which Lutz and Jenny had given their children. In 1936, George was ordained to the priesthood, and Paula left for Chimay. In 1937, Rob made his solemn profession, and the girls were transferred from Chimay to the new Koningsoord Abbey.

293. *Liefde in alles. Honderd beknopte meditaties over den religieuzen geest* [Love in Everything: One Hundred Short Meditations about the Religious Spirit], by Br. M. Albertus van der Heijden, prior of the Abbey of Saint-Rémy in Rochefort, published by the Norbertine bookstore in Tongerloo. Fr. Van der Heijden was born in Ravenstein on September 13, 1872, and died on December 28, 1934.

294. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, December 4, 1934.

295. Cf. A. Fourneau, *L'Abbaye Notre-Dame de Saint-Remy à Rochefort* [Our Lady of Saint Remy Abbey in Rochefort] (Rochefort, 2002), 18 and 214.

296. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to the boys, May 12, 1935.

297. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, June 4, 1935.

In 1938, Jenny was diagnosed with a serious illness, which later appeared to be leukemia. Early in September, her health began to decline quite quickly. At the time, Nicodemus van Overasselt, OFM-Cap, was assisting in the parish of Berkel-Enschot, replacing the pastor, who was traveling. Several days later, at the request of Hans Löb, this Fr. Nico wrote a description of the last days of Jenny's life and sent this to George, who was in Bonnecombe at the time.[298] Fr. Nico had gone to the Gerardus Rooming House on Monday. The Mother Superior had told him that a certain Mrs. Löb lived there and that her health had been declining quite rapidly for the past week. The doctor had indicated that she could be anointed, and the Mother Superior wondered what she should do: "have her anointed this afternoon? Or wait until the pastor is home, since I think this lady really would like to be anointed by the pastor himself?" In addition, the sons in Koningshoeven could be notified so that they could be present for the anointing.

Fr. Nico agreed to wait until Tuesday afternoon to anoint her, but he did warn the Mother Superior to keep a close eye on Mrs. Löb and to call him before it was too late. Either Paula or one of the sisters was always at her side. Hans had decided not to say anything to his mother about the anointing until Tuesday morning, to give her some rest. The next morning, Jenny indicated that she was feeling a bit better, but she suddenly began to go downhill around 10:30 a.m. Fr. Nico was called and he came immediately. First of all, he heard her confession, which, despite her shortness of breath, went quite well. Then she received the last sacraments, fully conscious. Paula came in while Jenny was being anointed, and a few minutes later the pastor also arrived. Together they prayed the prayers for the dying, and shortly afterwards, Jenny died quite peacefully. "She was always such a sweet soul and a good mother," said the pastor. Ernst and Rob were not allowed to leave the monastery to visit their

298. Ako file 430, Fr. Nicodemus van Overasselt to Fr. Ignatius, Udenhout, September 9, 1938.

deceased mother. Jenny was buried in Berkel on September 9. "Your Trappistine sisters would have certainly heard the death knells." The monastery was not very far from the parish church.

Fr. Nico said nothing else about Jenny's funeral. In contrast with Lutz's funeral, family and friends expressed very little interest or concern. None of Jenny's brothers or sisters were present, nor was there anyone from the Loeb family. Paula was there with her fiancé, Harrie van Broekhoven, and a few members of his family, and, of course, Hans and Deetje. It had been a while since there had been any contact with the Juten family. The Wiessing and De Man families did not come to the funeral either. For several years now, contacts with persons in Bergen op Zoom had been decreasing, and this time there was no one to notify the various ecclesiastical organizations and acquaintances, as Jenny had done when Lutz had died. The central person in the family had died, and no one could take over her role. Jenny's death also meant that the binding link between the children fell away. Paula and Hans tried to maintain contact with their brothers and sisters in the monasteries by means of visits and letters.

4. Raising and Educating the Children

The oldest children had gone to boarding schools in the Dutch East Indies. The long return trip by boat constituted a substantial interruption of their schooling, even though Lutz had tried to limit their lagging behind as much as possible by giving his oldest children language lessons and math lessons during the trip. Once back in the Netherlands, the children had to adapt to new surroundings as well as try to get back into the swing of things at school. This was less difficult for the youngest children, since they were just starting elementary school when they arrived in the Netherlands. Moving from The Hague to the area around Bergen op Zoom in 1922 meant that the children once again had to change schools and adapt to new surroundings. Later Jenny would use these successive changes within a relatively short time period to explain the very average

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performance of most of her children at school. However, another source comments that, even though Lutz himself was rather intelligent, most of his children had very little aptitude for study.[299] These two explanations of the difficulties which most of the children in the family had in pursuing their education are interconnected and they reinforce each other.

In his letters written from Spitsbergen, Lutz indicated that he wanted to raise his children as good Catholics, which included giving them an appropriate education. Lutz had been the first in his family to pursue higher education, and Jenny had also enjoyed opportunities for study, including music school and private lessons. For them, there was no question as to whether or not their children would go on for further studies after completing elementary school. For persons of their social background, it was unthinkable for their children to consider going straight to work in the factories without any further education. Jenny's influence probably encouraged the girls as well as the boys to go on for further studies. But as already mentioned, the capacity for study of most of their children was limited, so their middle-class educational ideal remained a far-off dream.

4.1 The Children During the First Years in Bergen op Zoom

In The Hague, Lien had attended the MULO [extended elementary education, similar to a junior high school].[300] In Bergen op Zoom, she started the three-year program of secondary education at the school where her father, Lutz, was teaching, but transferred after one year (in September 1923) to the teachers' school in Hoogerheide as a boarding student. This school was run by the Sisters of Jesus,

299. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in Den Bosch, Personal file R. Löb, Pastor C. Oomen, letter of recommendation for Rob Löb.

300. Ako file 427, letter, Lutz to Jenny, August 9, 1921.

Mary, and Joseph, a teaching congregation. According to Jenny, Lien did well there and could keep up with her studies in that program.

George was fascinated by the missionary ideal and felt called to be a priest, which fit in perfectly with the Catholic ideals of the time. Perhaps memories of their stay in the Dutch East Indies also played a part as well. Lutz and Jenny supported his ideal and, in September 1923, George was admitted to the apostolic school of the Priests of the Sacred Heart. Even though this program of studies was located close to home, George was required to live at the boarding school. The boys were allowed to receive visitors on specific occasions, and they could go home a few times per year. Contact with George was maintained via letters and packages, which the other children could drop off at the gate of the monastery school. When the boys from this school went out for a walk as a group, they usually passed by the Löb's home, which allowed them to catch a glimpse of each other. Jenny wrote many letters to George, describing all sorts of news and happenings within the family, as well as news of other acquaintances, interspersing these homely accounts with frequently repeated exhortations to follow his vocation and do his best at school. Lutz usually added a few lines to these letters from Jenny, and sometimes his brothers and sisters wrote a little note as well.[301]

After a few years, George's report cards indicated that he was having difficulty keeping up with this program of studies, no matter how attentive and diligent he might be.[302] The director of the school consulted Lutz and Jenny and, in 1926, it became clear that George would not be able to complete his schooling there. George had not lost his ideal of becoming a missionary, though, so they investigated the possibilities of following a program of studies with other missionary congregations. Lutz wrote letters, requested recommendations

301. Ako file 427, letters to George, 1923–1926.

302. Documentation, P. van Broekhoeven-Löb, Volume 2, report card for George Löb, 1923–1924, 1st and 2nd trimesters at the apostolic school of the Priests of the Sacred Heart.

from the parish priests, and tried to find a new place for George. This seemed to be exceptionally difficult, and Lutz and Jenny began to worry about the future of their oldest son.

George was serious and diligent, which meant that he could manage to keep up reasonably well at school, at least for a while. Robert, on the contrary, was not the studious type. He was enterprising and mischievous and had trouble adapting to any sort of rules and regulations. Nonetheless, just like his brother, his cherished desire was to become a missionary, but his capacities and accomplishments were insufficient for him to be admitted to the same school which George attended. Their parish priest, Pastor Oomen, helped them look for other possibilities. He put them in touch with the Marist Fathers who had opened an apostolic school for their monastery in 1910 in the Zeelandic Flanders region of the Netherlands. This teaching congregation had fled France due to the restrictive laws governing monasteries there. In Hulst, they were primarily interested in educating young boys who could then actively serve in the missions as priests or brothers. Later they also accepted boys who weren't interested in joining the congregation. Pastor Oomen wrote the superior that he was of the opinion that Rob did have a vocation to become a brother, recommending that he be taught a skill which would then enable him to serve in the missions. He did not think Rob had the necessary aptitudes to study for the priesthood. Oomen also mentioned that Lutz was a teacher and intellectually gifted, but that most of his children had not inherited that talent. At the same time, he indirectly hinted that the Löb family was not well-off financially, adding that they wanted to send Rob to the monastic program of studies in Hulst "for economic reasons."[303] Rob was admitted and departed for Hulst in 1923, when he was twelve years old. He had trouble getting used to the strict monastic setting, but his mother, Jenny, in her frequent letters, regularly admonished him to

303. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in Den Bosch, Personal file R. Löb, Pastor C. Oomen, letter of recommendation for Rob Löb.

persevere in his vocation to become a missionary brother. She asked if he was playing his violin in the school orchestra, but he did not answer her question. Rob was not much of a letter writer—he could not write very well. Sometimes he wrote half French and half Dutch, being directly influenced by the French origins of several of his teachers; but perhaps he also intended that to be a joke.[304]

After a year and a half, Rob returned home, the Marists being of the opinion that he did not have the proper attitude to become a brother. He was probably too high spirited and lacked the discipline and intellectual capacities needed to follow the program of studies. This was a great disappointment for Lutz and Jenny. They were already worried about their oldest son, George, and now there were problems with their second son as well. What would become of him?

With the twins, Door and Wies, Lutz and Jenny's primary concern was their poor health. Wies suffered from rheumatism. Both had attended school for a short while in the Dutch East Indies. In 1924, they were admitted to the program of studies run by the Franciscan sisters in Etten, which served as a preparatory school for girls interested in attending a teachers' school later. They lived there in a monastic sphere, but it seems they were both too sickly to be able to keep up with the program of studies. Some of the sisters in Etten remembered them later because of their musical talent: they both played the piano. In March 1925, just half a year later, they were back home again. For the time being, they remained at home, helping with the housekeeping chores and with raising the youngest children.

Ernst and Hans went to elementary school in Bergen op Zoom. Little Paula remained at home with her mother, Jenny, until she was old enough to go to elementary school as well. For the time being, Lutz and Jenny had no need to worry about these younger children, but they were concerned about George, Rob, and the twins, Door and Wies. In 1925, Rob and the twins were back home again and things were not going well for George at school. With this as

304. Ako file 427, letters, Jenny to Rob, October 1923ff.

background, it really is rather amazing that this was the year Jenny bought an expensive piano and Lutz put so much time and energy into his studies, writing a brochure as well as an article. Even more amazing is the fact that Jenny and Lutz decided to take a newborn baby into their family, at a time when they were occupied with so many other concerns and difficulties. It would appear to have been primarily Jenny who effected all of this, with her impulsive and emotional way of acting.

On November 11, 1925, Maria Cornelia (nickname: Marietje) Netten was born. Her mother, Maria Pruimeboom, died in childbirth. The Netten family was known to be socially weak and was supported by the church's charities. They lived in a small house on Antwerpschestraatweg, the same street as the Löb's home. The shoemaker Cornelis Netten had moved from Loon op Zand to Bergen op Zoom in 1917. He drank a great deal, which meant that his family of five children suffered from poverty. After his wife had died, Cornelis Netten and his family had nothing but problems, and the newborn baby was taken in by sisters in an orphanage. When Jenny heard about this, she talked the situation over with the pastor of the parish as well as the sisters. They made it clear to Cornelis Netten that his youngest daughter could find a good home with the Löb family. Since he really did not have much choice, he agreed. Less than a week after her birth, Marietje lay in a crib in the Löbs' home, where the twin sisters, Door and Wies, took care of her like two little mothers. She quickly became the apple of Jenny's eye, displacing Paula as the youngest at home. Marietje Netten was usually called "Deetje" within the Löb family.

Later Jenny wrote a romanticized story based on these events, entitling it *Marietjes komst* [Marietje's arrival].[305] She interpreted Marietje's arrival as the fulfillment of an unspecified longing, by the power of God, writing:

305. Ako file 451, Jenny's original manuscript has not been recovered. One of the sisters had made a typed version of it.

> In my heart, I asked God to give me this child, as an answer to a special grace which I had already been requesting from Him for a long time. If I would get this child, then God would answer my prayers.

Jenny regarded Marietje's arrival as a sign of answered prayer, but she gave no clear indication of the nature of the situation which she had laid before God. We presume that her prayer had something to do with the future she wanted for her own children.

4.2 Making the Acquaintance of the Trappists and Abbot Simon Dubuisson

Lutz made his first retreat in Koningshoeven Abbey in 1926, from August 14 through August 22, at the end of the school vacation. During that retreat, he would probably have spoken with Fr. Leo van Dijk about their problems with George and Rob. Lutz did let Jenny know that he was able to attend the daily Mass which Fr. Leo celebrated on a side altar. On August 19, Jenny sent Lutz a letter at the abbey, mentioning their special bond with Fr. Leo, and asking Lutz to check and see "if he still feels the same about us as he did in the world, and if he has persevered in his promise to pray for us every day." It is obvious that Lutz had also written his wife about his concerns regarding their children. In answer, Jenny gave witness to her faith:

> Oh, Love! Everything's going to be all right with our boys and girls. We're doing all we can for them and they'll follow in our footsteps in due time, I know it. Whenever you give yourself completely to God, whenever you love Him and Him alone, and keep on asking Him for the privilege of loving, keep on asking Him for help, time and time again, like a child, even for the smallest things in our eyes, the most insignificant things—oh, Loekie, that's when He answers our prayers. The prayer to want to be holy, to want to make all those who are dear to you holy, to be willing to offer yourself completely for this intention, this prayer is

> always answered. . . . Let's keep on asking, every day. Let's offer ourselves every hour of every day for this intention and, Love, we'll receive it.

Fr. Leo brought Lutz in contact with the abbot, probably already cherishing the thought that George might be able to come to the Trappists. Obviously Fr. Leo was aware of the fact that the abbot was glad to accept young boys, and that it was also possible to go to Saint Bernard's secondary school in Echt for studies. Writing from his retreat address, Lutz sent the following message to Jenny:

> I've spoken with Father Abbot. He would be glad to meet our oldest boys and talk with them. You'll have to bring them here to spend two or three days, but it will have to be before September. Then if the boys are interested in entering here—but they would have to give up all their plans for the missions—they could receive their education at no cost.[306]

When Lutz mentioned the oldest boys, he meant George and Rob, both of whom were planning on becoming missionaries. The next day, though, Lutz wondered if this would really be such a good choice:

> On second thought, the boys shouldn't come here. I don't believe they're called to the contemplative life.[307]

Jenny ignored this closing remark from Lutz, and did not wait for him to come home either. She received the letter on August 21, and the next day she took her sons George and Ernst to the abbey, just as Lutz was finishing his retreat. It was Jenny's own initiative to leave Rob at home—she thought that he would be able to go to the Capuchins—and to take the serious, younger brother, Ernst,

306. Ako file 426, letter, Lutz to Jenny, August 19, 1926.
307. Ako file 426, letter, Lutz to Jenny, August 20, 1926.

who had just finished elementary school. It seems that Jenny wanted Ernst to make the choice for monastic life as well.

Later Jenny wrote a story about her visit to the abbey with George and Ernst, and the favorable consequences it had, entitling the story "Grace."[308] She had experienced this opportunity and its result—namely, that both of her sons were accepted for the monastic program of studies—as a grace bestowed by God and as a favorable sign, confirming her own ideals of a life of faith.

In her story, Jenny begins with a sketch of a situation at home, using a dramatic style with dialogue. She has Lutz speaking to George, who was studying with the Priests of the Sacred Heart: "Now, fellow, what are we going to do? You'll never make it. Your grades for Latin and Greek aren't good enough." In June 1926, the headmaster of the apostolic school had said that the results of George's study efforts were insufficient, that he would not be able to continue in the program with those grades, and that compromised George's ambition to become a missionary.

> And that faraway land passed before his eyes, where he was dreaming of himself as priest among his converts, full of self-denial and deprivations, for the sake of his Jesus whom he loved with all the passionate love proper to youthful souls. And then those other faraway lands passed before his eyes, through which he had traveled with his parents and sisters and brothers a few years earlier. No matter how young he was at the time, he had already definitely decided to become a missionary.

Jenny had him respond to his father's remarks: "You know that I want to be a priest at all costs."

As already mentioned, Jenny went to the abbey on Sunday, August 22, with George and Ernst, where the abbot spoke with them in a

308. Akh F Löb 2. It remains unclear for whom Jenny wrote this text, as well as who might have read it. She probably used it later during her lectures.

room in the gatehouse. George made it quite clear that he wanted to be a missionary, to which the abbot replied: "My boy, we're the ones who help the missionaries. We support them through our prayer."[309] Then the abbot took both boys with him to the monastery church where Vespers was being sung. This service made an impact on the boys, especially Ernst, who was quite enthusiastic. George let it be known that he had no interest in this monastic life, which would completely shut him off from the world. His mother eased his mind, promising that she would keep on looking for something for him. When the abbot heard about his hesitation, he recounted his own trials when he had first become a Trappist. He advised George to become thoroughly acquainted with monastic life first, and to pray to God. In fact, this meant that the choice had already been made (according to his mother who, at least in her story, wanted to leave the choice completely to him), even if George had indicated after Vespers that he did not want to enter this monastery. Jenny returned home with her sons on Monday, August 23. In the meantime, Lutz had already returned home from his retreat, after having noted in the abbey's guestbook: "With heartfelt gratitude for the wonderful retreat and the welcoming hospitality."[310]

Not much time was spent discussing George's possibilities. On Friday, August 27, 1926, he entered the monastery as a boy of sixteen, presumably somewhat against his own will, where he continued studying for the priesthood. Ernst was quite happy with the abbot's offer to welcome him in the monastery after he had completed his

309. Cf. Pope Pius XI concerning the surpassing value of a life of prayer and penance, above that of missionary activity seeking to expand the church, in the apostolic constitution "*Umbratilem*" of July 8, 1924 (which was still rather recent at the time and, for that reason, timely for Dom Simon's meeting with George Löb). See also: A. Louf, *Met Gods genade, een ontmoeting: gesprekken met Stephane Delberghe* [With God's Grace, an Encounter: interviews with Stephane Delberghe], Tielt, 2003, 22.

310. Akh Guestbook 1, 1900–1937.

secondary schooling. He would be admitted to Saint Bernard's secondary school in Echt, and he could come to the abbey during school vacations. In September Ernst went to Echt to begin his studies.

The Trappists[311] placed a heavy emphasis on prayer, spiritual reading, and personal meditation. These things determined their daily schedule. Their day began at 2:00 a.m. with the choral Divine Office in the church. At 2:30 a.m. there was a half hour of personal meditation. At 3:00, the Divine Office continued with Matins and Lauds. These services of prayers and Bible readings usually lasted about an hour, but on Sundays and feast days, they were longer. Following these prayer services, there was a little time to wash and make up their beds—the choir monks slept fully clothed in their white cowls (cloaks), always ready to arise without delay. At 4:30, the entire community celebrated the daily Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary and received communion. Immediately afterwards, around 5:15, the monastic morning prayers of Prime were sung. Then the monks went to the chapter room, where a chapter from the Rule of Saint Benedict was read aloud, followed by a commentary by the abbot. What was referred to as the "chapter of faults" followed, which consisted of publicly pointing out offenses against the rules and

311. The Trappist order began as a renewal of the Cistercians, who in turn had begun as a renewal of the Benedictines. The name is borrowed from the monastery of La Trappe, where Abbot De Rancé had introduced a monastic reform according to a stricter rule of life at the end of the seventeenth century. Other abbeys grouped themselves around this reform. Monasteries which were part of this renewal movement once again grew in different directions, varying in their explanation and application of the Rule of Saint Benedict. At the end of the nineteenth century, partly at the instigation of the Vatican, an organization was formed so that, from then on, Cistercians of the Common Observance and Cistercians of the Strict Observance were seen as belonging to one "family." The Trappists were those who followed the stricter rule of life. Various monasteries in Belgium, including Scourmont, applied the rules and regulations quite strictly. When Dom Simon was named superior of Koningshoeven, he brought this strict interpretation of the Rule with him.

regulations which oneself or others had committed. The accusations were followed by penance in the sight of the entire community. The pointing out and acknowledgement of faults and penance played a prominent role in this strict way of life.

A light breakfast followed all these prayers and meetings. Then the office of Terce was sung, followed by High Mass, the liturgical high point of the day, which was attended only by the choir monks, since the lay brothers were already busy with their chores by this time. At 7:30 there was time for spiritual reading, study, and manual labor. The office of Sext followed at 11:00, with a short examination of conscience. Then they all gathered together for the noon meal in the refectory, during which one of the brothers read aloud. After they had finished eating, they went to the church for thanksgiving and to pray the Angelus. Then there was about an hour to rest. The office of None followed this noonday pause at 1:00 p.m., which was once again followed by spiritual reading, study, and work. Vespers was sung around 5:00 p.m., followed by fifteen minutes of personal meditation. Then it was time for the evening meal in common, followed by a short break before the monks once again gathered in the chapter room for spiritual reading. The day closed with the prayers of Compline and the monks went to bed around 7:00 p.m., after having received the abbot's blessing. The schedule was a bit different in the summer than in the winter, and on Sundays and feast days the prayer services were longer, but on the whole, there was little time for rest or relaxation.

The strict, sober, Trappist lifestyle also applied to their meals: the monks ate no meat, fish, or eggs (unless someone was sick and needed to regain strength), and there were long periods of fasting in the course of the year, during which very limited portions of bread, cheese, and milk were served. Since the community had to support itself and provide as much of its own food as possible, there was a farm and an orchard. They also baked their own bread, made their own cheese, and brewed their own beer. They had a laundry, a tailor shop, a shoe shop, a blacksmith, a bookbindery, a bakery for

eucharistic breads, etc., in order to provide for the needs of those who lived in the monastery. Manual labor was a substantial part of every monk's day.

Tasks within the monastery were allocated in such a way that a number of the brothers, referred to as "choir monks," occupied themselves primarily with the Divine Office and the liturgical celebrations, while the others, the lay brothers, did the manual labor. This difference in tasks also resulted in a certain rank: the choral Divine Office was more highly esteemed because it required schooling in reading and singing. Among the choir monks, there were always several priests to administer the necessary sacraments for the community, but the priesthood was not a prerequisite for being a choir monk, and there was no particular status attached to the priesthood. Monasteries of women were often located near the monasteries of men, and one or more of the priests would be appointed to provide for the liturgical celebrations of the sisters, as well as to give spiritual direction and to hear confessions.

The monks living in the monastery did not speak to one another, unless they had received special permission or the tasks they were performing made that necessary. Instead, they used sign language to carry out everyday business.[312] This silence was a special expression of the strict, sober lifestyle of the Trappists and Trappistines.

In addition to prayer, work, penance, silence, and a sober lifestyle, another characteristic of this type of monastic life was strict obedience to the abbot and to spatial limitations. The monk was bound to a specific abbey and, in principle, he remained there for life (*stabilitas loci*). Obedience to the Rule and the abbot, as a prerequisite for an orderly and harmonious community life, was regarded as a spiritual virtue, which meant that it acquired an absolute status: the abbot had an almost unassailable authority. Nonetheless, the com-

312. See *Reglementen van de Orde der Cisterciënsers van de Strenge Onderhouding* [Usages of the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance] (Westmalle, 1928). This includes an explanation of the extensive sign language.

munity as a whole knew that its own autonomy was anchored in the prescriptions governing votes of approval for the acceptance of new members, the choice of superiors, and substantial administrative decisions. The various abbeys as a group had a system for monitoring each other's administration, making use of a position referred to as the "Father Immediate"[313] and holding "Regular Visitations" to check out how things were going, both materially and spiritually. On these occasions, the members of the community had an opportunity to express their own opinions. The Trappists are an exempt order,[314] meaning they do not fall under the jurisdiction of the local bishop.

Entering a monastery meant that one left the "world" behind: the monks remained within the enclosure; guests were received in the guesthouse at the gate of the monastery; guest brothers and porters were assigned to receive guests and to answer the door, and to serve as connecting links with the outside world. Little of what was happening in the world outside penetrated the walls of the monastery, since every source of information was regulated and controlled by the abbot. The abbot and the prior kept an eye on the correspondence; during times of fasting, letters were neither written nor received. There were strict rules governing the reception of visitors, and the monks themselves were allowed to leave the enclosure only under special circumstances.

4.3 George (Ignatius) and the Trappists

With an initial reluctance, George had to try to fit himself into the rhythm of daily life with the Trappists, along with its accompanying

313. Father Immediate: the abbot of the motherhouse, responsible for monitoring the daughter house. During the Regular Visitations, the monks could appeal to the Father Immediate, without any intervention by the abbot or prior, regarding administrative matters and spiritual well-being.

314. Exempt: excluded from a bishop's jurisdiction and authority. The Trappists (men) are exempt. At that time the Trappistines (women) were not exempt, but that has since been changed.

obligations. Nonetheless, after a few years, he had managed to find fulfillment in his life there, and, with the appropriate humor, he sketched an image of daily life in the monastery in a birthday poem for his sister Paula, illustrating it with pen and ink drawings.[315]

A few weeks after he had entered the monastery, Jenny tried to get through to him that he was in a privileged position:

> My dear boy, every day I'm realizing more and more what a wonderful grace it is that you've been given. You lucky child, you who can give yourself completely to Jesus! You see, boy, even though we're living completely for God here, the world is all around us, and there are many things which make you sad, many things which make you sad for Jesus' sake. But you know, fellow, I'm really happy anyway, since I hope I've raised all of you wholly for God.[316]

She pointed out to him that he could live completely for God in the monastery, that he was not burdened by the things that happened in the "world." With this, Jenny swept away his objections to living such an isolated life. She also made her ideals concerning child raising known, quite emphatically: namely, that all her children should live completely for God. For Jenny, this meant striving to get all her children to choose the religious life.

> George, I'm so deeply happy that you want to live completely for Jesus. Every day, my son, I ardently pray that all your brothers and sisters might follow you as well. My son, I would be so glad to give all of you to Jesus, for love of Jesus![317]

315. Documentation by P. van Broekhoven-Löb. George, *Wat mij overkwam op Pops verjaardag* [What Happened to me on Pop's (Paula's) Birthday], (Koningshoeven, 1931).

316. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, September 10, 1926.

317. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, October 1, 1926.

It was clear that Jenny would prefer to see all her children enter the monastery and that she encouraged them to do so. Lutz was a bit more reserved in this matter, as was revealed, for example, when he expressed his doubts about George being suited for contemplative monastic life. A while later, Lutz let it be known that this doubt had vanished:

> Dear son, we're really very happy to be surprised already by your good messages. Yes, I do believe that you're in the right place over there.[318]

Jenny realized that other people might react a bit oddly to her resolute conviction that nothing could be better than having all her children enter the monastery.

> How many stupid people there are in the world! They just don't understand that you want to do everything possible to be only for Jesus![319]

After a short period of orientation as a postulant—just one month—George was clothed as a novice on September 25, 1926. He was given "Ignatius" as his monastic name, being named after the founder of the Jesuit Order, Ignatius of Loyola. On this special occasion, he was allowed to receive letters of congratulation. Jenny related that Saint Ignatius was the first saint to whom she had prayed, with the exception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. When she was sick in the Dutch East Indies, after giving birth to the twins, Door and Wies, Pastor Wolf, SJ, had advised her to pray to Saint Ignatius and had given her a bottle of Ignatius water to drink.

The reception of the monastic habit was a private ceremony—none of the family members were present—but George did give

318. Ako file 427, letter, Lutz to George, October 1, 1926 (a letter in which all the members of the family wrote a little note).

319. Ibid.

them a written description. In response, Lutz once again showed his skepticism:

> I was quite pleased with your simple, cheerful letter: a sign that you really feel at home over there. If this first, decisive letter had been a bit exaggerated in any respect, then I would have been afraid that you were trying to fool yourself. But now you've put me completely at ease and I'm in good spirits, looking forward to your two years as a novice. Then we'll see again.[320]

Clearly Lutz reacted quite differently from Jenny. He thoroughly realized that they still had to wait and see if Ignatius had the capacities and the perseverance to adapt to this new situation. In addition, Lutz knew that the Trappists did not demand too much from their own monks as regards studies for the priesthood. A two-year novitiate began with the reception of the habit. During those two years, an initiation into the spirituality and history of the Order was of central importance, along with attention being given to completing one's studies in the humanities: Ignatius received lessons in Latin, Greek, French, and English.

In spirit, Jenny lived the monastic life of her son along with him. She felt united with him, following the rhythm of the monastic day:

> I think it's so nice to know exactly when George is getting up; and then he's at Holy Mass; 11:00, High Mass; 12:00, dinner; from 1:00 until 2:00 in the afternoon, taking a nap (in the summer); 7:00 supper, then Vespers, and so on. I don't know any more about you. I've done the same thing with Fr. Leo, time and time again: every night around 2:00 a.m. I wake up and pray a bit. You get up at 5:30, don't you?[321]

320. Ibid.
321. Ibid.

Jenny wrote her son at least once a month, as well as whenever there was a special feast day, and she kept that up for years, seemingly paying no attention to the Trappists' regulations governing correspondence. It could also be that she took into account the fact that her letters would be saved and delivered all at once at the end of the period of fasting.

At the beginning of November, when Jenny was allowed to visit Ernst at the secondary school in Echt, she could read the letter which Ignatius had written Ernst. She was happy to read that Ignatius felt at home in Koningshoeven and was convinced that you "feel the happiest if you live as God wants you to!" Jenny regularly asked her son to pray for her and the other members of the family, often adding a special request for prayers for other persons as well, when she was worried about the salvation of their souls. She felt closely united with Ignatius in prayer and supported his choice to orient himself completely to God and the religious life. "It's so wonderful, young man, to know that we are praying for each other every day, that we all have the same goal. Isn't that so?"

Lutz responded encouragingly to a birthday greeting which Ignatius had sent him:[322] "We'll be thanking God for having led you so well. And we'll also pray that it will not only continue, but that it will get better and better." Jenny was happy with Ignatius's detailed explanation of life in the monastery and responded: "I'm really anxious to hear everything from your own mouth one of these days. It will really be a feast when we'll all be allowed to visit you for Easter."

Pastor Kuijpers came to dinner on the occasion of Lutz's birthday, and they spoke extensively about all the children, especially those who were away from home: Ignatius, Lien, Rob, and Ernst. According to Jenny, they spoke of them at almost every meal: "You all are in our thoughts every minute of the day."

Jenny regarded her children's choice for monastic life as an extension of her and Lutz's own conversion. She regarded their conversion

322. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, November 17, 1926.

as a sign of divine election, just as she would later write concerning Ignatius's entering the monastery, entitling it "Grace":

> You don't know, dear boy, how deeply grateful I am to God for the tremendous grace which He is always bestowing upon us. George, every day I feel God's love in me growing, I feel how God is helping me love Him more and more. Every day, I understand more and more the tremendous grace which God has given me, who had once been such a carefree, unreligious child! Only me, out of that whole big family—I'm the only one whom God called. And the same with Father: he alone was sought out by God. And what great graces has Jesus bestowed on us! Therefore, let's thank God every day, all of us, more and more, and love Him more deeply every day.[323]

Jenny was proud of her boys and girls who had given themselves completely to God. She would not want it any other way, even if letting go of them made her "die of pain."[324] She even insisted that Ignatius pray that Hans and Pop (Paula) would also follow this same path, so that *all* of her children would choose this state of life, so that it would be an offering of the entire family to God.

Ignatius completed his novitiate on September 30, 1928, when he made his temporary vows. This took place privately, during a solemn ceremony at which no family or friends were present, only members of the monastic community. After committing himself to three years of temporary vows, his further studies for the priesthood began. In addition to the divine office, *lectio divina* (spiritual reading), and helping with manual labor, studies now occupied most of his time. Trappists who were studying for the priesthood took a limited number of courses and were ordained whenever the teachers and the abbot thought the candidate was ready. Ignatius's courses now

323. Ibid.

324. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, October 13, 1929.

included philosophy, dogmatics, moral theology, scripture, canon law, and church history, with emphasis on the history of the Cistercian Order. Later there would also be instruction concerning the rubrics of the liturgy and the sacraments. These classes were given by monks from his own community who had acquired sufficient knowledge through their own studies to be able to teach their (younger) brothers in monastic life. There was no strict program of studies for the priesthood, as was customary in the diocesan seminaries.

According to the constitutions of the order, solemn profession[325] could be made three years after temporary profession. For a monk to be admitted to solemn profession, he needed the approval of the abbot as well as an official vote of the members of the community, with all the monks in solemn vows having a vote. Ignatius met their demands and expectations and made his solemn vows on September 30, 1931.[326] Making solemn profession is a special moment in the life of a monk: he becomes a full-fledged member of the community, with all its privileges and obligations. There was a festive celebration in the monastery church, during which the candidate pronounced his vows in the presence of the abbot and the community. The family was also welcome at this feast, but only men and boys were allowed to be present in the monastery church. The women and girls remained in the gatehouse, where they could follow the ceremony via loud speakers.

Ignatius's father and mother were present at his solemn profession, along with his two brothers Rob and Ernst (who had also entered Koningshoeven in the meantime), his youngest brother, Hans, his little sister Paula, and possibly Deetje as well. In any case, his other

325. Profession: making monastic vows.

326. The Chronicles of Koningshoeven Abbey don't mention this solemn profession. That edition of the Chronicles was almost entirely devoted to the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the monastery, which actually fell on March 5, but which could not be celebrated until April 12 because of the Lenten fast.

three sisters were not present. At that time, all three of them had entered the Trappistine monastery in Chimay and, according to the regulations, they were not allowed to leave the enclosure, not even for this special festive occasion. Jos and Jackie Juten were also present, as well as Eva and Herman de Man (who made photos of the festivities surrounding the profession), Pastor Vincent Kuijpers, and Ignatius's godfather, George Wiessing. The latter had become increasingly pious and consciously Catholic in the course of the past few years, and he now addressed his godson in this way: "Contemplative monasteries are lighthouses of peace, strongholds of faith and confidence."[327] He spent the night at the monastery and thanked the abbot at great length for the opportunity to do so.[328]

Following this important step in his monastic life, Ignatius continued his studies for the priesthood and on June 15, 1935, was ordained subdeacon[329] in Saint John's Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch by Msgr. A. F. Diepen, the bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch, together with students from other monasteries. On September 21 he was ordained deacon in the chapel of the major seminary in Haaren, once again by Msgr. Diepen. Both ceremonies took place without much fuss or attention; after all, they were just preparatory steps along the way to being ordained to the priesthood. On June 6, 1936, Ignatius was ordained to the priesthood by Msgr. Diepen, together with the other neomists[330] from the diocese as well as several other monks. Ignatius was sad that his father, who had died in April 1935, had not been able to see him finish his studies and be ordained a priest, but Jenny

327. Ako file 428, letter, George Wiessing, November 1, 1931. Wiessing had earlier expressed the hope that his children would grow up to be good Catholics too, just like the children in the Löb family. Letter, September 20, 1931.

328. Ako file 428, letter, October 10, 1931.

329. Subdeacon: an ordained state in the Catholic Church, beneath that of deacon, being the first step toward ordination as a priest. The subdiaconate was abolished by the liturgical renewal following the Second Vatican Council.

330. Neomist: a newly ordained priest who is offering Mass for the first time (in the terminology of those days).

was at the ordination, along with Hans and Paula. His godfather, George Wiessing, was once again present, as well as Herman and Eva de Man from Berlicum, and Jos and Jackie Juten from Bergen op Zoom. However, his other brothers and sisters who were in the monastery were not allowed to attend the ceremony.

It was customary for a newly ordained priest to receive a chalice or vestments from his family as a gift, with the parish to which the neomist and his family belonged often contributing as well. Jenny wanted to give Ignatius a chalice, and she had already begun negotiating with Andriessen, the goldsmith in Bergen op Zoom. However, when she wrote Ignatius about it, he made it clear to her that he really did not need his own chalice, that he thought it was too expensive a gift—he knew his mother did not have the money. Nonetheless, Jenny went ahead with her plans and, with substantial contributions from Jos and Jackie Juten and his godfather, George Wiessing, the chalice did become a reality.[331]

Jenny had made her own plans beforehand for celebrations on the day of the priestly ordination itself, as well as for other celebrations in various locations during the days which followed. She had written the abbot about her plans, and he seems to have agreed to the program as she had arranged it.[332] After the ordination ceremony, they could enjoy a meal with family and guests at the Mariënburg

331. Ako file 430, letter, Jenny writing George from Chimay, February 16, 1936: "You're going to get the chalice, George. Andriessen is working on it and he's very accommodating towards me. Uncle George will surely contribute something, and Aunt Jackie as well, because this is what I really want and they know that." See also the letter from Jenny to George, May 25, 1936, in which Jenny said that Aunt Jackie would give some money for a chalice, and that she preferred to give it to George in Bergen op Zoom.

332. Ako file 430, letter, Jenny to Abbot Dubuisson, June 1, 1936. In her letter to George, written May 25, 1936, Jenny had indicated that she would first take Deetje to Netty van den Bogaard on Saturday morning, using the car belonging to the Janbroers family, and then, after the ordination ceremony and the meal, she would pick her up again and continue on her way to Chimay.

monastery of the JMJ sisters in 's-Hertogenbosch. Then Jenny left with the guest of honor, Ignatius, along with Hans, Paula, and Deetje, to go to the Trappistine abbey in Chimay,[333] where Ignatius celebrated his first solemn Mass in the abbey church. This time Lien, Door, and Wies were present, but Rob and Ernst were not allowed to come, so the family was not complete at that celebration either. The same day, Wies wrote an exhaustive description of the ceremony for her two brothers in Koningshoeven,[334] indicating that she could think only of their deceased father, precisely at that moment, as "delighting in the joy of having a priest as a son, at such a deeper level, and so much more perfectly now, than if he were still here with us." In her description, she also dropped a few hints, revealing the mutual relationships among the children in the family: Lien behaved as if she were a second mother for her sisters Door and Wies and that would have certainly applied for Paula too, whom she knew would be entering the monastery shortly as well. During this visit, Wies had had the opportunity to speak briefly with Jenny and Paula, and she wrote her brothers:

> You know we think it's just wonderful that she's coming. The only thing I don't understand is the boundless love which the good Jesus has for our family! We have to be infinitely grateful.

In this way, Wies indicated how positively she, and presumably her sisters as well, regarded the fact that all the children were being set on

333. Some of the regulations which Dom Simon applied in the abbey differed from what was customary among Trappists in other places. For example, he allowed a priest to spend a few days with his family around the time of his ordination so that he could celebrate his first Mass in his home parish. Dom Simon was also more flexible than was customary in other houses of the Order when it came to applying the regulations regarding visiting parents or other members of the immediate family who were dying.

334. Ako file 430, June 7, 1936.

a path toward contemplative monastic life. She interpreted it as the love of Jesus and the grace of God, completely in line with Jenny's interpretation of Ignatius's admission to the monastery in 1926. Wies described herself as a caring, pious sister, pointing out to her older sister, Lien, that she should put on a clean guimpe[335] for the solemn celebration—she had already ironed it for her. During dinner, Hans was clowning around and Deetje was running back and forth from one member of the family to another. These were days for Jenny and the children to catch up with each other and to enjoy being together as a family (at least partially) once again. From Chimay, they went to visit the abbot of Scourmont in the neighboring village of Forges, who had invited the family for a meal.

On Wednesday, June 10, they were home from Chimay and, according to Jenny's plans, her son would offer Mass at 7:00 that morning on the altar devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of the Holy Martyrs of Gorcum in Bergen op Zoom. There was no question of any exuberant festivities here, as would have been customary in a parish which had one of its members ordained to the priesthood. This soberness probably had to do with the fact that Ignatius was a Trappist, as well as the fact that the family really did not belong to this parish any more. After the celebration in the parish church, Ignatius would sing the afternoon Benediction for the JMJ sisters in Hoogerheide, where Lien had attended their teachers' school and where Paula had also received some instruction. Then Jenny suggested that, on Thursday, June 11, Ignatius could go either to the apostolic school of the Priests of the Sacred Heart, where he had once been a student himself, or to the monastery of the Carmelite nuns. One gets the impression that Jenny was taking advantage of the opportunity to make the rounds, proud of her son, the priest. At the end of this tour, Ignatius returned to Koningshoeven.

335. Guimpe: a broad, white cloth covering the neck, shoulders, and chest of a nun's habit.

Just a month later, accompanied by Dom Simon, Ignatius left for the Trappist abbey of Our Lady of Bonnecombe in France. This was a Cistercian monastery dating from the twelfth century, located in a valley in Aveyron. Trappists had returned there to live in 1876, after the buildings had been standing vacant for almost a century. Now they were having problems due to a shortage of monks, making it difficult to keep up with the demands of the regular monastic life. The temporary superior, Jean Bousquet, had appealed to Dom Simon to send a few monks as reinforcements from the large Koningshoeven Abbey (by 1935, Koningshoeven had grown to 134 monks, with more than half of them being solemnly professed choir monks and lay brothers) and Dom Simon had acceded to his request. First he took Fr. Stephanus van Langen to Bonnecombe in September 1935, where he became sub-master of novices and master of lay brothers, in addition to teaching Latin and church history.

On July 20, 1936, Ignatius, accompanied by the abbot, left by train for Bonnecombe. In the train going to Paris, they had some trouble with customs because of the two chalices which they had brought with them (the one belonging to Fr. Stephanus, who had already been in Bonnecombe for a while, and the other belonging to Ignatius).[336] On the way, they visited the Trappistine abbey of Bonneval, where they celebrated Mass and, since "the sisters had to know how well the Dutch priest sings, I had to celebrate High Mass." Ignatius did his best to speak French when they were introduced to the sisters, but when they switched over to sign language, the sisters were surprised that Ignatius could respond with signs that they could easily understand. Dom Simon told the sisters of Bonneval about the group of Dutch sisters in Chimay, especially about their plans to found a monastery in Berkel-Enschot, going into detail about the Löb children. From Bonneval, they proceeded to Bonnecombe Abbey, which was not very far away. Dom Simon left a few days later

336. Ako file 430, letter, George to his sisters, written from Bonnecombe, August 1936.

and Ignatius learned to find his way around in this new situation: he was made sacristan, refectorian,[337] and sub-cantor.[338]

Jenny thought that Ignatius would have more freedom in Bonnecombe and, consequently, that they would be able to write more often than was allowed in Koningshoeven.[339] It had already been evident for years that Jenny had trouble with the monastic regulations regarding visits and correspondence. No matter how well she knew the rules, there were several times when she quite consciously did not observe them.[340]

In 1937, three more monks departed from Koningshoeven Abbey to support the group in Bonnecombe: Fr. Innocentius Sijbers, Fr. Adolphus Weerts, and the temporarily professed Br. Odulphus Kruysen. It is not clear why Dom Simon chose these particular brothers. In November of that year, the temporary superior, Bousquet, was elected abbot, but the Dutch members of the community would not have had a vote in this election due to the fact that they belonged to Koningshoeven Abbey. Dom Simon, however, did come to Bonnecombe for the abbatial blessing.

In May 1937, Cyprianus (Guus) van den Bogaard and his older brother Gerard (bound to a diocese in Tunisia) were ordained priests, and Ignatius sent a card from Bonnecombe, congratulating the parents Van den Bogaard-Linssen. Ignatius knew both of the boys quite well. He and Cyprianus had studied for the priesthood together in Koningshoeven. Paula congratulated them on behalf of the four girls in Chimay, since she too knew the Van den Bogaard family. She and her mother and Deetje had lived with them for a while

337. Refectorian: the monk whose task is to take care of the refectory (dining room).

338. Sub-cantor: the assistant/substitute for the cantor, who led the singing and sang the solo parts.

339. Ako file 430, July 22, 1936.

340. Ako file 430, May 11, 1936.

before Jenny was able to move into the Gerardus Rooming House in Berkel-Enschot.[341]

Jenny cherished plans to visit Ignatius in Bonnecombe in September 1937, but due to the expense, decided against it.[342] When Dom Simon celebrated the silver jubilee of his abbatial blessing in Koningshoeven in April 1938, Fr. Stephanus and Fr. Ignatius were allowed to return from Bonnecombe for a few days to be present for the festivities.

Fr. Ignatius was exuberant and devoted to the performance of his duties, according to Abbot Jean Bousquet, who described him as he had come to know him in Bonnecombe. Ignatius knew how to cheer up his brothers, joking with them and teasing them, and he was always very obliging. He made mistakes in his French when he had to read aloud in public, to the amusement of the others, and he suffered from the "exile syndrome"—in other words, he was homesick. On those occasions, he would take his sorrows to the abbot and cry it out with him.[343] In Koningshoeven, Ignatius would also later be remembered as being "very warm and good natured, with a practical approach, which he certainly would have inherited from his father, the engineer."[344]

His little sisters must have brought up the topic of his remaining permanently in Bonnecombe. Ignatius answered them, quite decidedly:

> I'm not going to transfer my stability, even if all the other Dutch monks do! In the second place, I came here *of my own free will*—I didn't have to—and, after having duly requested permission, I could return to Tilburg again, the house of

341. Akh, personal archives of Fr. Cyprianus van den Bogaard, letters, George, June 23, 1937, and Paula, May 22, 1937, written from Chimay.

342. Ako file 430, letter, Jenny to George, April 21, 1937.

343. Serafinus Lenssen, *Huiskroniek Abdij Koningshoeven* [House Chronicles of Koningshoeven Abbey], 236.

344. Ibid, 267.

> my stability. In the third place, we regard the voice of the superior as the voice of God, who calls us and sends us, and I do not want to resist His voice! In the fourth place, I'm staying here until Bonnecombe releases me from service. In the fifth place, even if there are a lot of young professed religious, it would still be a while before they're through and through "human persons" in every respect! In the sixth place, you all have to pray hard for postulants as well as for us four exiles!

Ignatius wrote several letters from Bonnecombe to his sisters in the monastery,[345] as well as to his youngest sister, Paula, on the occasion of her marriage to Harrie van Broekhoven in 1938. In preparation for Ernst's ordination in 1939, he also corresponded about a possible gift. That was the way the children kept in touch with each other.

Ignatius did not have very much to do in Bonnecombe, certainly not in the winter months when there was little work in the fields and in the garden. He mentioned that he chose French books for spiritual reading even less than before—he really did not appreciate them. "I'd rather read the Bible, and also Colomba [sic] Marmion."[346]

Harrie and Paula sent him letters, cards, and sometimes money for Mass intentions as well. On February 15, 1939, Ignatius had offered Mass "for our Father and our Mother," and he would offer three more Masses in March: "one Mass for the Broekhoven-Löb family, one Mass for Hans. And I could offer the fourth Mass for the conversion of the Jews."[347]

In his letters, Ignatius let it be seen that he was thinking of each member of the family. He often asked how things were going with Hans, if Paula had regular contact with him. He was also attentive

345. Ako file 430, January 8, 1938ff.

346. Ako file 430, letter, George to Harrie and Paula, February 17, 1939.

347. Ibid.

to Deetje, who had been placed in a boarding school in Oisterwijk following Jenny's death. Now and then there were also echoes of social issues: the Spanish Civil War, the refugees fleeing from Spain to France, and the role of Franco were not unknown to Fr. Ignatius during his stay in Bonnecombe.

His brother monk Innocentius Sijbers told Harrie and Paula that they did not have to worry about Ignatius, that he had a tremendous capacity for perseverance and "a great spirit of sacrifice. I really do believe that he would rather be in the 'Sheepfold' (Koningshoeven: a sheepfold had been located on the property before the monks had acquired it and built the monastery), but once he had had a look around at everything, then he would probably be glad to return to his second 'Home' (Bonnecombe)."[348] Apparently there was talk of Harrie and Paula coming to visit in Bonnecombe—Innocentius wrote that they would certainly be spoiled by their brother—but nothing seems to have ever come of such a visit.

In September 1939, Abbot Jean Bousquet and a number of the French monks were mobilized due to the threat of war between France and Germany. For Dom Simon, this was reason enough to send a telegram to Bonnecombe, recalling the Dutch monks and having them return to Koningshoeven. At the abbot's urgent request, Fr. Innocentius Sijbers remained in Bonnecombe; the other four, including Fr. Ignatius Löb, returned to Koningshoeven Abbey.[349] At that point in time, Dom Simon presumed that the Netherlands would once again remain neutral and that it would be safer in Koningshoeven. However, it would not be long before the threats of war would become a reality for the monks of Bonnecombe as well as for the monks of Koningshoeven.

348. Ako file 430, letter, Innocentius Sijbers to H. van Broekhoven, April 1, 1939.

349. *Huiskroniek Abdij Koningshoeven* [House Chronicles of Koningshoeven Abbey], 248.

4.4 Rob (Linus)

On October 13, 1923, Rob left to attend the boarding school run by the Marists in Hulst, but he returned home again on February 26, 1925, due to the fact that he could not keep up with the program of studies there. That presented Lutz and Jenny with the difficult challenge of finding another way to offer him a future. For a while, he worked as a baker's helper, bicycling around Bergen op Zoom to deliver bread and enjoying the freedom of this way of life. He also did all kinds of odd jobs for the Priests of the Sacred Heart, where his older brother, George, was a student at the time. Lutz (probably strongly stimulated by Jenny) did his best to find an appropriate position for Rob, making use of his contacts with clerics in the area. Lutz himself wrote to a number of monasteries, and Pastor Vincent Kuijpers, from Borgvliet, also wrote a letter of recommendation for Rob:

> There's a young man in our parish, Robert Löb by name, who would like to live the monastic life as a Capuchin brother. He comes from a good background, being the son of an engineer, Mr. Löb, who teaches at the Catholic secondary school. Robert is well behaved and religious, presently 16 years of age. Even though the family realizes that you usually accept such young persons at 17, they ardently desire that he be allowed to enter now. He had originally been planning to enter the Priests of the Sacred Heart, where young boys are accepted at 16 years of age, so everything is ready and they've all been anticipating it. Reverend Father, should you be inclined to satisfy Robert's desire, you would be most obliging to him and to the family. Sincerely looking forward to hearing from you, Reverend Father.[350]

350. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in Den Bosch, Personal file R. Löb, letter, August 16, 1926.

It is worthy of note that Pastor Kuijpers included a few little white lies in his letter to promote the cause. He did not say anything about the fact that Rob had been with the Marists and had been sent away, he did not mention anything about his limited capacities for studies, and he also gave an incorrect age—Rob had not yet turned 16.

During Lutz's retreat in August 1926 in Koningshoeven Abbey, Pastor Kuijpers received a letter from the provincial superior of the Capuchins, which gave the impression that Rob had a good chance of being accepted, but Jenny interpreted it as his already having been admitted. The provincial requested recommendations from both Pastor Kuijpers and Pastor Oomen. It was unusual to ask two pastors for letters of recommendation, but this was probably due to Rob's being underage, and the Capuchins wanted more than the usual degree of certainty. While Lutz was still on retreat, Jenny wrote him that Rob really wanted to go to the Capuchins and that he preferred to work on the farm.[351]

Pastor Kuijpers mailed a letter of recommendation in which he noted that both of Robert's parents were Jewish converts and "model Catholics in every sense of the word."[352] Pastor Oomen went into a bit more detail about Rob's background, indicating that his parents "were quite religious, but not well blessed financially." He described Lutz "as being an exemplary teacher as well, almost to an exaggerated extent, who was universally well read and well bred, I repeat, extremely so." Pastor Oomen felt it necessary to include a footnote mentioning the fact that Rob's grandparents were still "Israelites" (Jews) and that George and Rob were circumcised, although this was not the case with the younger sons in the family.[353]

351. Ako file 426, letter, Jenny to Lutz while he was on retreat in Koningshoeven, August 19, 1926.

352. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in Den Bosch, Personal file R. Löb, letter, V. Kuijpers, September 13, 1926.

353. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in Den Bosch, Personal file R. Löb, letter, Pastor Oomen.

Rob himself also wrote a letter requesting to be accepted:[354] using his best handwriting, he took down the sentences which were undoubtedly at least partially dictated to him by others:

> Dear Reverend Father Provincial,
> I am happy to be permitted to write to you. Now that it's time to write to you, I too will take advantage of this opportunity. During the past two weeks, I've prayed the Litany of the Holy Spirit twice as good, as well as adding the Veni Creator as well. The nearer the time came, the more I wanted to write to you to ask to be admitted. I feel so drawn to the Capuceens [Robert misspelled the word in Dutch] and I so anxiously long for the day of my departure. I know for sure that I will be accepted, for Our Dear Lord is quite clearly inviting me. 1st Whenever I go to the city, everything displeases me. I don't know, but I can't feel at home in the city and I'll be happy when I'm away from here. 2nd Whenever I go to the apostolic school, I have the feeling that I'm already with you. 3rd When I go to communion in the morning, I clearly hear the Voice of Jesus calling me. Now, Father, I relay the warmest greetings from my family, but especially from your little friend,
> Robert Löb.

It is as if we are hearing his parents speaking through Rob's words. The main reason for his wanting to enter the monastery seemed to be his aversion to the evil world—we can probably interpret "city" as a symbol for that corrupt world. However, when Rob was regularly on the road as a baker's helper and an errand boy for the apostolic school, he was in no sense of the word so repulsed by city life.

354. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in Den Bosch, Personal file R. Löb.

Quite optimistic, Rob then wrote an exceptionally short letter to his oldest brother, including the usual spelling errors and addressing him by his monastic name, as was the custom in those days:

> Dear Fr. Ignatius,
> How are things going? Monday I'm going to the Capucein [misspelled by Robert] monastery in Udenhout, where I'll be for about three years. On Wednesday, I'll be clothed—I'll get a habit without a hood; I won't get the hood until I'm in the novitiate. I'll write again. At the moment, I don't know anything. Now, lots of heart-felt greetings from Father and Mother and your little brothers and sisters, but especially from your brother, Robert Löb. It isn't much, but it comes from a good Heart.[355]

He did, indeed, enter the Capuchin monastery in Udenhout on October 18. On October 21 he received the monastic habit and the name Benjamin, since he was the youngest in the community, just having turned sixteen. Then he was sent to work in the carpenter shop, where he could receive some practical instruction. Things seemed to be going fine there for a while. According to Jenny, he was happy and cheerful, big and brave and strong.[356] But the Capuchins also had problems with Rob. The novice master, Fr. Clarentius, admonished him several times to be more diligent and persevering in fulfilling his obligations, but Rob was not serious enough and the novice master noted:

> He's always talking and making jokes, constantly annoying and irritating the other novices. His behavior is simply exasperating.[357]

355. Ako file 427, letter, Rob to George, October 14, 1926.
356. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, April 26, 1927.
357. Ako file 427, letter, Fr. Clarentius to Lutz Löb, March 16, 1928.

Because of the problems they were having with Rob, the novice master had invited Lutz to come by and have a talk on March 16, 1928. As far as the novice master was concerned, the conclusion of the matter had already been decided, for he let his provincial know: "Br. Benjamin is not suitable for our Order. Father Löb was just here."[358] A few days after their talk, Fr. Clarentius requested that Lutz come to Udenhout to pick up his son.[359] Rob did indeed leave the Capuchins in Udenhout on Sunday, March 25, but he did not go home with his parents to Bergen op Zoom. That very same day, he entered the Trappist monastery of Koningshoeven, which was not very far from Udenhout. A few months later, Rob sent his greetings to the novice master of the Capuchins, telling him that he was doing fine with the Trappists. He expressed himself quite piously, concerning contemplative monastic life: "O, isn't it just wonderful to be a victim for Jesus."[360]

Lutz had probably already spoken to Dom Simon about Rob earlier. In any case, on March 17 there was a "crisis consultation." As was well known, the abbot's policy of accepting candidates was quite magnanimous. He also highly esteemed Lutz. Rob's brothers Ignatius and Nivardus were already Trappists, and his oldest sister, Lien, was in touch with the Trappistines about the possibility of her entering as well. Rob would not have had much to say about what he himself wanted to do with his future. Dom Simon and Lutz had probably already agreed between themselves that they were willing to give it a try with Rob in Koningshoeven, so that he could go straight from the Capuchins to the Trappists, as it were.[361] Whenever

358. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in Den Bosch, Personal file R. Löb.

359. Ako file 427, letter, March 22, 1928.

360. Archives of the Capuchin Province of the Netherlands in Den Bosch, Personal file R. Löb, letter, December 23, 1928.

361. It is strange that, in Rob's personal file in the archives of the Capuchins, which does seem to be complete, there is nothing regarding a request

it was a matter of transferring from one religious order to another, it went without saying that the superiors involved would have had contact with each other beforehand; however, there is nothing to indicate that Dom Simon consulted the superior of the Capuchins.

Following a six-month probation period, Rob was clothed as a lay brother, receiving the monastic name of Linus. Furthermore, Dom Simon did not seem to attach much importance to a note added to the diocesan documentation, dated September 22, 1928, indicating that there was no impediment to Rob's being received into the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance (Trappists). The note had to do with the fact that Linus had left the Capuchins because he was too immature and could not handle the ascetic life there.[362]

As a Trappist lay brother, Linus worked primarily in the fields, in the brewery, and in the carpenter shop. Later, he would work on the monastic farm. With the exception of the common monastic exercises, there was little contact between the monks in the monastery, which meant that the Löb brothers, Ignatius, Nivardus, and Linus, seldom encountered each other.

Linus continued to be mischievous and had trouble adapting to the sober, serious monastic life. The monks remember Br. Linus as a cheerful boy who did not worry about much, a good buddy for his fellow monks. He was regularly getting into trouble for not obeying the rules and regulations, but the punishments he received for

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for information from Dom Simon. According to Trappist regulations, when a postulant had already been in another monastery, the superior was required to inquire about the reason for his having left that monastery; otherwise the superior would not be allowed to give him the habit and receive him as a novice. From talking with Lutz, Dom Simon had gotten an idea of more or less how things had gone with Rob, and apparently he did not feel obliged to follow the monastic regulation and request further information from the Capuchins themselves.

362. Memo: "Aliqualiter H. sponte [?] discessit e domo Patrum Capucinorum in Udenhout, probabiliter praevidus dimmisionem sequentem propter puerilem levitatem solidae ascesi via accomodatam."

his violations seemed to make little impression on him. He took everything pretty casually.[363]

Although nothing was noted in the abbey's chronicles or archives regarding Linus's problems, Jenny herself was quite aware of them, and she was worried. The abbot probably informed the parents whenever they visited the abbey:

> My dear boys, I thought it was a shame, what Father Abbot said about Rob. But Robertus, we'll all be praying hard. Do your best, fellow, and we'll pray, and you pray along with us. What God wills is good, isn't that true, little fellow? We'll do our best and wait and see. Little guy, when you feel like talking, clench your teeth. You'll see—you'll learn. Your sisters will be a big help too, fellow. Be confident, my boy, and do a little bit yourself as well. Rob, don't stop asking, fellow. Our Blessed Mother Mary keeps on helping, and whatever She does for us is good.[364]

It seems that Linus had a lot of trouble with the required silence and that Jenny was convinced that the solution to the problem lay in prayer. She continued to repeat her encouraging incentives along the same lines:

> How are things going with all of you? Rob is certainly doing his best now. You know, Rob, the Crusaders' motto is "always confident, never complaining." That includes everything, fellow. Carve that motto in your head, in a special compartment in your brain. Write it down and hang it on the door so you can look at it over and over again. When everything goes wrong at work, say a quick little ejaculatory

363. A. Terstegge, *Ter Herinnering aan onze Joodse Medebroeders* [In Memory of our Jewish Brothers], Tilburg, 1962.

364. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny, June 2, 1930.

> prayer. Fellow, that helps so much! Talk it over with Our Blessed Mother Mary. She just keeps on helping.[365]

Linus made his temporary profession on March 19, 1931, and three years later, his vows were renewed for an additional three years. Apparently the abbot and the community had their doubts about his being suited for contemplative life; and there was even mention that he might have to leave the monastery. Jenny had already consulted Pastor Joosten in Bergen op Zoom regarding the choice of a missionary congregation to which Linus might be able to apply. He would first come home for a while, and then go with her to visit his sisters in the monastery in Chimay, and then proceed to the new monastery. Jenny had not discussed these plans with anyone else yet.[366] Apparently Linus was not consulted about this important decision regarding the further course of his life. A few weeks later, Jenny indicated that she was glad he had asked to be allowed to remain in Koningshoeven.[367]

A detailed report (a so-called "procès-verbal") of the renewal of his profession in March 1934 was not written up by the monastery, but there was a copy of the text of his vows, signed by Linus:

> We, Brother Simon Dubuisson, Abbot of Our Lady of Koningshoeven of the Order of the Reformed Cistercians, in the diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, declare that today, the eleventh of March, nineteen hundred and thirty-four, Laetare Sunday, our Brother Linus, in the world: Robert Löb, lay brother, has renewed his temporary vows for three years, and in our hands has once again made profession of temporary vows for a period of three years, in the presence of three religious acting as witnesses, sworn the eleventh of March, nineteen

365. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny, August 26, 1930. With the use of the term "Crusader," Jenny was referring to members of the Eucharistic Crusade.

366. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, January 13, 1934.

367. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George and Ernst, January 29, 1934.

> hundred and thirty-four. Was signed by Simon Dubuisson, abbot; Br. Basilius Helmink, prior; Br. Benedictus Smorenberg, sub-prior; Br. Innocentius Sybers, secretary; Br. M. Linus Löb.[368]

There were still questions regarding Linus's suitability for contemplative monastic life, and Jenny corresponded with her oldest son about the situation.[369] Ignatius felt responsible for his brothers, certainly after Lutz's death, and he took that responsibility quite seriously, advising his mother to pray for Br. Linus, that he might be allowed to make his solemn (perpetual) vows. According to Ignatius, Linus took everything much too casually. He also advised his mother not to buy him an expensive fountain pen as a gift for his profession, for he handled such things much too roughly[370]—Ignatius made everything his business!

After the second period of three years, they seemed to be sufficiently convinced that Linus was in the right place: he was admitted to solemn profession on March 19, 1937.

4.5 Ernst (Nivardus)

When Ignatius went to Koningshoeven to begin his novitiate and to study for the priesthood, the younger Ernst was allowed to go to Saint Bernard's secondary school in Echt, with Dom Simon paying for his room and board and studies. On September 6, 1926, twelve years of age, he left Bergen op Zoom for Echt, where he would spend three years in the monastic boarding school. He was an industrious student; his brothers and sisters admired his grades and accomplishments.[371] While he was in Echt, Lutz and Jenny were allowed to visit him a few times each year. Ernst himself only went home at Christmas

368. Akh, Personal file, Linus.
369. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, February 16, 1935.
370. Ako file 430, letter, George to Jenny, January 1936.
371. Ako file 427, letter, Lien to George, June 25, 1927.

and during the summer vacations. Life in the boarding school was set up as a sort of pre-novitiate, reflecting the daily rhythm and pattern of life in the monastery, but sports and cultural events were also offered: they put on plays, and sometimes Ernst had a part.[372]

Lutz and Jenny were glad that Ernst felt at home in Echt. He and his fellow student Guus van den Bogaard spent a lot of time together. When Jenny was visiting her son, she also got to know his friend's parents, which led to a longtime friendship. The friendship between Ernst and Guus would also be lasting. The boys wrote each other letters, signing them "little brother" as an expression of their feelings of being related.

On November 30, 1927, Dom Anselmus van Hooff received the abbatial blessing in Echt. On this occasion, Ernst was allowed to present him with a very long cope, which he did quite "earnestly." Dom Simon used this play on words to characterize the boy.[373]

Fr. Stephanus van Langen was proctor at the secondary school during the school year 1926–1927, and he remembered Ernst as standing out among his classmates:

> Once when we were sitting around the dinner table and one of the boys suddenly asked, "Who wants another egg? I have one too many," Ernst answered, "Here!" Then he asked me, "Do you think I'm too unmortified?" None of the other boys had ever heard that word before.[374]

Ernst had probably learned what ascesis and mortification meant from his parents at home. His question also pointed to a certain scrupulosity, which would continue to weigh upon him:

372. See p. 366, photo of Ernst with Guus van den Bogaard in a play.

373. Akh Personal file Ernst Löb; Stephanus van Langen, manuscript: *Iets over P. Nivardus Löb* [Something about Fr. Nivardus Löb]. "Ernst" is the Dutch word for "earnest, serious."

374. Van Langen, *Iets over P. Nivardus Löb* [Something about Fr. Nivardus Löb].

> He regarded himself as being obligated to make satisfaction [doing penance by kneeling and making the sign of the cross, Hans Evers and Peter Steffen] for every mistake he made during the Divine Office. Often it was such an endless workout that it was tiring to behold, especially when he was still a novice, but he never dared to excuse himself from this obligation to make satisfaction for his faults.[375]

Ernst attended Saint Bernard's secondary school for three years. Not only he but also his mother, Jenny, were looking forward to the day when he could enter Koningshoeven Abbey. "Still a good month before Ernst is there with you [Jenny meant George and Rob]. Don't you think it's just wonderful? Yep."[376] At the end of July, Ernst went home to Bergen op Zoom so he could enter the monastery from there on August 20, 1929. Stephanus van Langen remembered Ernst already being in the monastery several days before the other postulants arrived. He sat at the table with the novices for supper, simply radiant with joy—he was where he wanted to be. A few weeks later his mother asked how things were going with him:[377]

> How are you doing, little Ernst? Mother is thinking about you a whole lot, dear little one. George and Rob are already such old monks—they're used to everything now—but you're just getting to do everything for the first time now. Fr. Pius [Strijbosch, director of the secondary school in Echt, Hans Evers and Peter Steffen] wrote Father this week and asked about you. He said you'd be really happy now, in your "precious solitude."

On September 27, 1929, Ernst was clothed as a novice and received the monastic name of Nivardus. It is true that Jenny was not allowed

375. Ibid.

376. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George and Rob, July 12, 1929.

377. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to Ernst, George, and Rob, August 31, 1929.

to be present for the ceremony, but she was very much with them in spirit:

> George, I'm with you now in my thoughts, especially today. Actually Mother is always with you all—I can still see all of you. Surely Ernst received the habit today—how radiant he must be. I'm so happy that Ernst is there with you now (this is a purely natural human thought, though, George).[378]

Jenny sent him a card for his sixteenth birthday: "your first birthday in your beloved monastery. Have a good day, little baldy."[379] Receiving the tonsure was also part of the ceremony of the reception of the habit and a monastic name. Everything exterior to the person, which called to mind the life in the world outside the monastery, was removed. This ritual was intended to constitute a rebirth, as it were, of the novice, as a person wholly devoted to God. Therefore, in theory, all biological and material bonds with the family of origin were cut off. The new name was meant to confirm a new identity.

After completing his novitiate, Nivardus made his temporary profession on September 30, 1931. As things normally go, he should have made solemn profession, the definitive step in his growth toward full-fledged membership in the monastic community, in September 1934, but his final profession was postponed for a year. In 1934, Nivardus renewed his temporary vows, and his solemn profession followed a year later, on September 29, 1935. His weak constitution and the trouble he had adapting to the rhythm of Trappist life were possibly reasons for this postponement.

Lutz had become worried when he learned that Nivardus had been sick since the middle of October. Was he overworked? According to Lutz, Nivardus wanted to do everything perfectly, "but that isn't what Our Dear Lord wanted from you." Lutz advised him to do what is necessary first, and to do that well, then to do what

378. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, September 27, 1929.

379. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to Ernst, October 28, 1929.

is desirable, not a whole lot, but as well as possible. Jenny simply advised Nivardus to get enough rest.[380]

The fact that Nivardus was a good student, and that he was especially good in Latin, was already evident at Saint Bernard's secondary school in Echt. It was also confirmed later, in 1941, when he and Fr. Leo van Dijk translated the *Exordium Parvum*, the story of the foundation of the abbey of Cîteaux.[381]

The rhythm of monastic life in the abbey, with the night's rest being interrupted for prayer and meditation, created problems for Nivardus. He suffered from insomnia, which hindered his progress and his ability to participate in the choral prayer. He was also so scrupulous that whenever he had trouble sleeping, he "would start to pray the rosary, to avoid letting even a single minute go to waste." In this sense, monastic life was physically difficult for Nivardus, but there might have been other reasons as well which led to his being relieved of the task of teaching the novices, and to his being removed from the position of sub-cantor. In any case, the new cantor could not get along with Nivardus, which could have been a reason for his being replaced. Fr. Stephanus van Langen regarded these situations as "setbacks" which Nivardus magnanimously endured.

Nivardus's attitude during what was referred to as the chapter of faults was characteristic of an obedience to the Rule that allowed no discrimination of persons. According to his fellow monk Fr. Stephanus, he did not shrink from "sometimes accusing his own blood brothers and the older priests, and even his own confessor or teacher," of actions or behaviors which were contrary to the monastic regulations, for which penance had to be done, including humiliations in the sight of the entire community. Fr. Stephanus regarded Nivardus as the model Trappist:

380. Ako file 429, letter, Lutz and Jenny to George, December 29, 1933.

381. In her letter of November 22, 1929 (Ako file 428), his mother, Jenny, had already complained about Ernst writing too much Latin in his letters, since she could not read Latin.

> The characteristic virtue, though, which really made him stand out from the others in my eyes, was his desire for humiliations. That's really the proof of genuine virtue. He so enjoyed it when he was accused during the chapter of faults, especially when it was a bit harsh. Then he was in his element.[382]

On July 30, 1938, Nivardus was ordained subdeacon by Msgr. Diepen in Saint John's Cathedral and on the following October 9, deacon, in the chapel of the major seminary in Haaren, once again by Msgr. Diepen. His priestly ordination followed on June 3, 1939, once again in the cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch and by Msgr. Diepen. Candidates for the priesthood from the various orders and congregations were included in the ordination ceremonies of the candidates for the diocesan priesthood, and Koningshoeven had two candidates that year: Nivardus and Amadeus van Iersel.

4.6 Lien (Hedwigis) and the Trappistines

Lien returned home in June 1927, after having received her diploma from the teachers' school. She confided to her brother Ignatius that she "had created an uproar with Our Dear Lord,"[383] and that she was planning to live at home for at least another three years. She wanted to study English so that she could enter the JMJ sisters' teaching congregation.[384] Reading of Lien's plans, Jenny added a note to this letter to Ignatius, saying that for some reason, she expected Lien to wait a year and a half at the most before entering the monastery. In the meantime, she was teaching at the elementary school in Woensdrecht. In December 1927 she visited her brother Ignatius

382. Van Langen, *Iets over P. Nivardus Löb* [Something about Fr. Nivardus Löb].

383. She didn't explain exactly what she meant by this.

384. Ako file 427, letter, Lien to George, June 25, 1927.

at the abbey,[385] a visit which was followed by an important change in her plans for the future. She was now definitely planning on becoming a Trappistine, and she wanted to enter the monastery quite soon.

Being a fervent novice, Ignatius had most probably shared his enthusiasm for contemplative life with his older sister. Ignatius advised her to speak with the abbot about her vocation, and during the resultant conversation, the abbot emphasized the ideal of contemplative religious life. That meeting with Dom Simon would certainly have made a big impression. Neither Lien nor her mother, Jenny, ever gave any explanation for this change of mind, nor did they give any reasons for her giving up an active life as a teacher.

There were no Trappistine monasteries in the Netherlands. All the monasteries of Cistercian nuns had either disappeared during the period of the Reformation or been suppressed as a result of the French Revolution. It was this combination of factors and circumstances which led Dom Simon to conceive of a concrete plan to take actions to found a Trappistine monastery near Koningshoeven Abbey.

New monasteries of nuns were usually founded near an existing monastery of monks, who then offered the nuns their support. Within the Order, there had already been thoughts of founding a Trappistine monastery in the Netherlands. The general religious climate in the Netherlands, with flourishing monastic vocations, would provide a favorable basis, and expansion of the Order was a well-respected aspiration. Dom Simon must have been aware of these administrative plans. For such an endeavor, a stable group of monastic sisters was needed who had already received their religious formation, as well as a monastery of men who could take on the supportive tasks. Sufficient capital to buy property and to build was also needed. The other Trappist monasteries in the Netherlands were not in a position to take on such responsibilities. Normally, a monastery of women would initiate such a foundation but, as already mentioned, there were no Trappistine monasteries in the Netherlands as yet. The

385. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, December 23, 1927.

nearest monastery was in Chimay, in Henegouwen, Belgium, and Dom Simon knew this monastery quite well, since he himself had come from the nearby Scourmont Abbey.

Lien Löb's interest led to Dom Simon's taking concrete steps. It is said that he promised Lien that he would build a monastery for her.[386] In retrospect, it was not Dom Simon who took the initiative, but rather Lutz Löb and his daughters and the other young girls who asked Dom Simon to create an opportunity for living the contemplative life of the Trappistines in the Netherlands. Dom Simon's initial reaction to this proposal would have been a bit reserved.[387] He looked into the possibility of future sisters receiving their religious formation in Chimay, where Sr. Gertrude Demarrez was the novice mistress—he knew Sr. Gertrude quite well. He tried to stir up interest for monastic life among the sisters and other relatives of the monks of Koningshoeven.[388] This seems to have been a wise move, leading to several young girls applying for entrance. Another element in Dom Simon's recruitment strategy was the trips he regularly made to Chimay, taking relatives of the monks and other interested young women with him. For these trips, he used a bus which belonged to the contractor Jos van Dijk, who was also Fr. Leo's brother. Clothing and profession ceremonies were especially suited for touching the hearts of these young women and persuading them to enter the monastery.

Lien Löb entered as a candidate for the choir sisters on April 28, 1928. Dom Simon himself took her to the monastery in Chimay,

386. Terstegge, *Honderd jaar Koningshoeven* [Hundred Years Koningshoeven], 115–16.

387. Ako Conferences by Fr. Ambrosius Zonneveld for the sisters in Berkel-Enschot, in memory of the death of Dom Simon, Berkel-Enschot, around 1946.

388. Sr. Jozefa van Buuren, *Cisterciënzer abdij O.L. Vrouw van Koningsoord 16 juli 1937–1997* [Cistercian Abbey of Our Lady of Koningsoord, July 16, 1937–1997] (Berkel-Enschot, 1997).

where he then told the community about his plans to found a sister monastery in the Netherlands. On November 4, 1928, Lien was clothed as a novice and received the monastic name of Hedwigis. After celebrating a solemn High Mass, Dom Simon led Hedwigis to the abbess, M. Beatrix Pirnay, and there, in the choir of nuns, Hedwigis received the clothing of the Order from the hands of the abbess. Dom Anselme Le Bail of Scourmont Abbey was present for this ceremony, as well as Lutz Löb, and both of them signed the act of the chapter.[389] Lutz's presence was significant, as well as the fact that he too signed the document. Parents and other family members were usually not invited to this ceremony.

The plans for a foundation took on more definite shape when other young girls followed. Joke van Iersel followed Hedwigis on November 6, 1928, as a candidate for the lay sisters. During 1929 and the following years, there was talk of a real "Dutch invasion," to such an extent that the number of sisters for the new foundation quickly grew to thirty-seven in 1929, and ninety-eight in 1936.[390] The twins, Door and Wies Löb, were also included in this group. They had accompanied their mother when she went to visit Hedwigis, who in turn had encouraged her blood sisters to come and join her there.[391] In addition to the fact that the monastery in Chimay had not counted on such a rapid growth in numbers, the living conditions there were quite sober. It was cold and damp, and there was not much to eat. Dom Simon, along with the contractor Van Dijk, saw to it that a wing was built and that the electricity and heating were improved.[392] In this way, the poor monastery in Chimay profited from the hospitality which they offered the Dutch novices,

389. Archives, Abbaye Notre Dame de la Paix, Chimay, Acts of the Chapter, 45.

390. Cf. L. Delfgaauw, "In memoriam, Sr. Gertrude Demarrez," *Cîteaux* 35 (1973): 152–55.

391. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny, January 10, 1930.

392. Ako file 429, letters, Wies, October 23, 1932, and November 9, 1932.

as well as from Dom Simon's special concern. The religious formation in Chimay was given in French, which was not so easy for the Dutch girls, so Lutz's daughters asked their father to translate their *Cours de Religion* [Religion Course].

The plans for a new monastery became more definite in proportion to the growth of the group of novices. Dom Simon received permission from the general administration of the Order to take further steps. The economic situation of Koningshoeven Abbey had improved so that sufficient material resources were available, and the community of Koningshoeven had grown to such a great extent that they could provide enough workers to do most of the construction work themselves. With the help of local authorities, Dom Simon succeeded in purchasing several contiguous parcels of land in Berkel-Enschot where a monastery could be built, along with the accompanying agricultural facilities.

The deed for the purchase of the land was closed on November 13, 1930, at the rectory in Berkel. Abbess Beatrix Pirnay, Sr. Gertrude Demarrez (the cellarer), and Sr. Hedwigis came from Chimay to sign the deed and view the property. Hedwigis' presence gives the impression that Dom Simon accorded her a special position, being the first candidate for the new foundation. The fact that the sisters came to sign the deed also made it clear that the foundation was formally being made by the Trappistine monastery in Chimay, even though the actual initiatives and the construction itself were the work of Dom Simon and his community.[393]

393. Decision of the General Chapter of the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance of 1933, in *Besluiten en bepalingen* vanaf 1895 [Decisions and Provisions, beginning with 1895], Diepenveen (undated), 251: "The monastic community of Notre Dame de la Paix receives permission to found a monastery of nuns in Berkel, the Netherlands, for which the plans and preparations have been made by the Most Reverend Abbot of Tilburg, and who, in the name of his monastic community which has given its approval by secret vote, is obligated, always according to its means, to provide for whatever the new foundation lacks for the support of its religious, if its ordinary means of income are insufficient."

Preceding the purchase of land in Berkel, Dom Simon had asked Msgr. Diepen, bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch, for permission to make a new foundation. Nuns did not have the autonomy which a monks' monastery had due to the fact that they were not exempt at that time, meaning they fell under the jurisdiction of the local bishop. The bishop presided at the blessing of the abbess, and if one of the sisters needed to leave the enclosure, then the bishop's permission would be requested. The provisions regarding enclosure were also strictly laid down by ecclesiastical authorities, and for this reason it was referred to as "papal enclosure." However, the bishop did not interfere with the internal administration of the monastery. The spiritual direction of the sisters was in the hands of several Trappist priests appointed to this task, who lived in what was referred to as the "rectory."

On May 1, 1933, the community of Koningshoeven formally accepted the paternity (the responsibility for material and spiritual support) of the new foundation. From what was recorded in the monastery's chronicles, the abbot appeared to be especially happy:

> He told his monks the pronouncement which Br. Serapion Tunders, director of the brewery, had made in response to his plans for the foundation: We, the brothers from the brewery, have worked ten years (1910–1920) to pay off the debts and ten years (1920–1930) to raise the new buildings; we'll work together with you, and share our last piece of bread with you, in order to finish this monastery for the sisters.[394]

A few months later, the General Chapter of the Order approved the new foundation, and by the end of the year, the ground could begin to be prepared for construction. The abbot bought a small bus, which he used to drive to the building site with a number of monks and lay brothers, so they could level the ground. The monks

394. Terstegge, *Honderd jaar Koningshoeven* [Hundred Years Koningshoeven], 116.

worked hard and cheerfully under the stimulating leadership of their abbot, who worked right alongside them. In this way, the brothers Ignatius, Linus, and Nivardus helped build the new foundation where their sisters Hedwigis, Door, Wies, and also Paula, for a short time, would later live.[395]

Although it was not customary for the abbot to write such extensive letters on such occasions, Sr. Hedwigis did receive a special letter on the occasion of her final profession on May 4, 1933, from Dom Anselme Le Bail, abbot of Scourmont:[396] "certainly with affection for you personally, and esteem for your parents, but primarily with the knowledge that you are the first professed sister of the Cistercian foundation in the Netherlands";[397] all of Christian life, "and monastic life, which is the same thing, consists in dispossessing oneself in order to become possessed by Christ." This gift of self to the Lord was meant to encompass the entire person, with all his or her gifts and talents, but in addition to the customary aspects of one's own body and one's self-will, Le Bail emphasized the subordination of the gift of one's intellect. He gave Sr. Hedwigis the following advice and mission: "For that reason, the choir sister is obligated by her profession to apply her intellect to prayer as much as possible, so that it will be a most excellent song of praise, glorifying God. That's the whole reason for the study and intellectual work proper to monastic life." Apparently Le Bail thought that Sr. Hedwigis should use her intellectual capacities optimally in the service of religious life. He also indirectly referred to her Jewish background when he used the phrase, "the conviction which lived in your Fathers of the Old Tes-

395. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, May 17, 1934.

396. Ako file 429. In 1922, he had written a book about Trappist spirituality and the Trappist way of life, *L'Ordre de Cîteaux*, 1922 (Paris, 1947).

397. See Sr. Jozefa van Buuren, *Cisterciënzer abdij O.L. Vrouw van Koningsoord 16 juli 1937–1997* [Cistercian Abbey of Our Lady of Koningsoord, July 16, 1937–1997], where she cites excerpts from this letter from Le Bail, offering a Dutch translation of the original French text.

tament." It goes without saying that Dom Simon was the celebrant for the profession ceremony in the monastic church in Chimay.[398]

In 1934, Sr. Gertrude Demarrez was elected abbess in Chimay. Maria Joséphine Louise Demarrez was born on March 29, 1892, in Forges (Henegouwen, Belgium), as the only child of Hyppolyte Demarrez and Marie Deschepper.[399] Her parents' home was located near Scourmont Abbey, and Simon Dubuisson, who was then the prior of Scourmont, was her spiritual director. After she completed her elementary schooling and attended boarding school, her spiritual director sent her to Fourbechies, the poverty-stricken place of refuge of the French Trappistines who had fled their monastery in Saint-Paul-aux-Bois in 1904 due to French anticlerical laws. Even though Dom Simon had been appointed superior of Koningshoeven a year earlier, he personally accompanied Maria Demarrez when she entered the monastery of Fourbechies on her eighteenth birthday. Six months later, on September 8, 1910, she received the novices' white monastic habit and the monastic name of Gertrude. After making her perpetual vows in 1913, she held several important positions within the monastic community. She was there in 1919 when the community moved the monastery of Fourbechies to Chimay, about ten kilometers away. As novice mistress in Chimay, she played an important role in the formation of the young Dutch girls whom

398. Archives, Notre Dame de la Paix, Chimay; Acts of the Chapter of the Community of Notre Dame de la Paix in Chimay. On March 30, the community of Chimay had voted to receive Sr. Hedwigis for the profession of her perpetual vows. The document of acceptance was signed by M. Beatrix Pirnay, abbess; Sr. Gertrude Demarrez, secretary; Sr. Hélène Durieux, prioress; and Sr. Stéphanie.

399. Cf. Delfgaauw, In memoriam: Gertrudis Demarrez. Ako, chapter acts, 1956, Berkel-Enschot, Solemn professions. In 1956, the entire community (with the exception of the extern sisters in the guesthouse) once again made their final professions, now termed "solemn" profession. This had to do with a change in canon law regarding relinquishing the administration of one's own property. The term "perpetual" was now replaced with "solemn."

Dom Simon sent there. In her position as cellarer, she also shared in the administrative responsibilities for the community of Chimay.

Partly as a result of Dom Simon's insistence, Sr. Gertrude would become the abbess of the new foundation in Berkel-Enschot, accompanied by Sr. Madeleine Schockaert, who would help her build up the new community according to the strict observances practiced in Chimay.[400] They briefly considered giving Hedwigis Löb an administrative position as well, but she was still too young for that. As the first among equals, though, she did enjoy a special respect—after all, she was the oldest, as far as profession was concerned. She also had a radiant personality, and others looked up to her.[401]

Hedwigis was glad that Door and Wies had also entered Chimay in 1929 and 1930. They were allowed to receive visitors three times a year. Lutz came to visit in 1928, shortly after Hedwigis had entered.[402] Thereafter, it was usually Jenny who went, bringing one of her other daughters along, or one of Hedwigis' former girlfriends. Most of the time she would be driving the bus which Dom Simon would borrow from the contractor Jos van Dijk, or the bus which he himself later bought for the monastery, referring to it as "Löb's caravan," once again heading for Chimay. Jenny and her letters were the link between home in Bergen op Zoom, the boys in

400. In memoriam: Sr. Madeleine Schockaert, in *Cîteaux*, 1973, vol. 35, 155–57. See also *Histoire de la Fondation de N. Dame de Koningsoord 1928–1937* [History of the Foundation of Our Lady of Koningsoord, 1928–1937], archives, Abbaye Notre Dame de la Paix, Chimay. Text to be read aloud on the occasion of the golden jubilee of profession of Sr. Rose Leroy on March 25, 1980. According to this text, Sr. Dal, who was then novice mistress in Chimay, would originally have become superior of Koningsoord, had she not previously been appointed abbess somewhere else. This jubilee text even refers to Sr. Dal as a foundress of Koningsoord.

401. Terstegge, *Honderd jaar Koningshoeven* [Hundred Years Koningshoeven]. See also Hans Evers and Peter Steffen, interview with Sr. Laurentia Delfgaauw, Nuland, April 3, 2000.

402. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, November 1, 1928.

Koningshoeven or at school in Echt, and the girls in Chimay. During these years, the Löb daughters usually wrote a joint letter home, with Hedwigis expressing herself rather seriously, Door more often making jokes, and Wies just being pious and gentle. They all wanted to know how things stood regarding Paula's preparations for entering the monastery. In August 1936, after Paula had gone to Chimay to begin her novitiate, all the girls in the Löb family were together in that monastery.

The Dutch sisters in Chimay were looking forward to moving to the new monastery in Berkel-Enschot. The building project was also the most influential enterprise for the community of Koningshoeven during the years 1933–1937. Jos van Dijk designed the new monastery and oversaw the construction process as well. A farm, an orchard, and a small herd of cows were needed to assure the community's self-sufficiency. A mushroom cellar was also set up, designed to provide the necessary income to enable them to be self-supporting. The construction of the rectory was completed in December 1935, with rooms for the priests who would be providing spiritual direction for the sisters, as well as an office for Dom Simon, so he could supervise the business related to the new monastery. In 1936, construction was begun on the church and the monastery proper, which would take a good year. During that time, Jenny (who lived nearby) came by regularly to check on the progress of the construction, which also gave her an opportunity to see her sons, who were working there.

The monastic church was provisionally consecrated on May 20, 1937, and a week later a group of seventeen novices arrived, including Paula (with the monastic name of Louisa), with their novice mistress, Bernardine Smal. The next group came from Chimay on July 15, with Sr. Gertrude Demarrez as the intended abbess and Sr. Madeleine Schockaert as the intended prioress. Now there was a total of nineteen choir sisters, twelve lay sisters, and an extern sister[403]

403. Extern sisters lived outside the enclosure and came in contact with visitors from the "outside" world.

for the new foundation.[404] The group of choir sisters included Lien (Hedwigis), Door (Theresia), and Wies (Veronica) Löb, as well as Gerarda van den Bogaard, the sister of Cyprianus, who was a Trappist in Koningshoeven. From the very beginning, they had a full-fledged community present in the new monastery.

On July 16, 1937, in the chapter room of the new monastery, which was called Our Lady of Koningsoord, Sr. Gertrude Demarrez was solemnly named to be the first abbess of the new foundation, under an indult[405] from Rome and on behalf of Msgr. Diepen. She was then installed, and they all went to the monastic church, where Dom Simon led her to her place in choir. All the professed sisters then renewed their promise of obedience in her hands. This official "first day," their foundation day, was celebrated as a feast—enclosure and silence were not required—and was concluded with solemn benediction. The next day, Dom Simon came to celebrate High Mass, followed by the blessing of the monastery, and, beginning with Vespers, enclosure was established and the regular life began.

In principle, the daily schedule for the sisters was the same as that for the brothers: an alternation of prayer, spiritual reading, manual labor, and rest. The community was divided into choir sisters and lay sisters. In addition, there were extern sisters living outside the enclosure who had their own special tasks. Enclosure was quite strict: there were grilles in the visiting parlors so that the sisters were literally separated from their guests, and one had to request permission each time it was necessary to go "outside." The abbess was in charge. One or more priests, appointed by the abbot and living in the rectory, assisted her in matters related to spiritual formation. The sisters' freedom of movement was even smaller than that of the brothers. There was work on the farm, in the orchard, and in the mushroom cellar, as well as the housekeeping tasks for the community.

404. Archives, Notre Dame de la Paix, Chimay; Acts of the Chapter of the Community of Notre Dame de la Paix in Chimay.

405. Indult: papal permission.

The abbess firmly believed in the Trappistines' being a contemplative and penitential order.[406] She kept the rules and regulations quite strictly, demanding a great deal of herself as well as of her sisters. Now she was faced with no small task. She found herself in a foreign country, she spoke no Dutch,[407] she was from another culture, and she was surrounded by a great many young sisters, some of whom had not yet received a complete religious formation. She found valued help and support in her prioress, Sr. Madeleine Schockaert. Sr. Laurentia Delfgaauw, who had been with Paula Löb in Chimay and had come with her to Koningsoord, remembered the abbess as being a warmhearted woman, but quite strict when it came to all the details of the rules and regulations.[408]

The abbess' interpretation of the religious significance of silence[409] and how it led to perfection was representative of the religious formation and spiritual emphasis which she offered her sisters in those years: silence was a way to reach spiritual perfection and union of the soul with God. She elaborated on this theme from the perspectives of obedience, humility, total sacrifice of one's own will, seeking penance, and suffering understood as offering.

The name of the new monastery revealed its special bond with Koningshoeven Abbey. Dom Simon had played a dominant role during the preparations for the foundation, and he continued to have an emphatic voice in determining how things were handled later as well. He was there every week to make the necessary arrangements, overseeing the administration of their industries and helping with the maintenance of the fruit trees. This meant that the abbess still

406. Cf. Delfgaauw, In memoriam: Gertrudis Demarrez.

407. Ako file 430. On October 22, 1936, Jenny wrote her son George that she would be giving Mother Abbess lessons in Dutch conversation, but this remained a proposal which the abbess never did take up.

408. Interview with Sr. Laurentia Delfgaauw, Nuland, April 3, 2000.

409. *De 12 trappen van het stilzwijgen* [The Twelve Steps of Silence], manuscript, dated June 1, 1941, Ako file 99.

remained under the influence of her spiritual director; she really did not have a free hand in running the monastery. A few days after their official foundation day, the sisters were once again reminded of Dom Simon's dominant role in a letter they received from the abbot general, Dom Herman-Jozef Smets,[410] enjoining them to show their gratitude to God, to the Blessed Virgin Mary, to the Order, and especially to Dom Simon as well.[411] The abbot general (who, as former abbot of Westmalle, had known Dom Simon quite well in that position) did not hesitate to call Dom Simon the "founder," even though Chimay was officially the founding monastery. However, what the sisters themselves saw was primarily Dom Simon's paternal care, which they did not seem to experience as meddling.[412]

In his letter of congratulations, the abbot general gave a brief explanation of the then prevailing views regarding the contemplative religious life of the Trappistines, presenting the sisters with this goal:

> to sanctify yourselves in this new place of prayer and penance, and uninterruptedly to implore the richest blessings for your fellow citizens of the Netherlands through your ardent zeal and your strict observance of the centuries-old traditions of our Order.

He continued, in an elevated style:

> Your mission is, first of all, to make Koningsoord a school of saints and your responsibility in this matter is of the greatest importance.

410. Ako, letter, Abbot General H. Smets to Reverend Mother Gertrudis, abbess, and the community of Our Lady of Koningsoord in Berkel, Cîteaux, July 20, 1937.

411. Sr. Jozefa van Buuren, *Cisterciënzer abdij O.L. Vrouw van Koningsoord 16 juli 1937–1997* [Cistercian Abbey of Our Lady of Koningsoord, July 16, 1937–1997], 7, and letter from Abbot General H.-J. Smets.

412. A positive tone of gratitude is dominant in the documents of the monastery.

Dom Anselme Le Bail wrote a letter of congratulations to Sr. Madeleine Schockaert[413] around the time of the foundation day, emphasizing the role of the community of Chimay, who had offered their abbess for the well-being of the new foundation. No matter how unwise this may have appeared, considering the weak position of the community of Chimay, this was certainly proof of the fact that the foundation of Koningsoord really was made by the community of Chimay. Nonetheless, Le Bail immediately put this bond in perspective in the same letter:

> Notre Dame de la Paix knows that it doesn't have any merit or share in building this new place and recruiting the postulants.

Dom Simon's influence, both spiritually and materially, continued to be strongly felt—he himself gave the sisters both instructions and conferences on a regular basis—and the abbess, M. Gertrudis, realized she was pretty much dependent on him.

The mushroom cellar which had been set up prospered, providing a major source of income, but after several years they realized that this work was quite heavy and rather unhealthy. In addition, the necessary materials could not be procured during the war, so they discontinued this industry and turned to other means of supporting themselves, including the production of liturgical vestments. In 1940, Koningsoord was raised to the status of an independent abbey, and the community confirmed M. Gertrudis in her position as abbess during the required elections.

413. Sr. Jozefa van Buuren, *Cisterciënzer abdij O.L. Vrouw van Koningsoord 16 juli 1937–1997* [Cistercian Abbey of Our Lady of Koningsoord, July 16, 1937–1997], 7–8, translated from the French.

4.7 Door (Theresia) and Wies (Veronica)

The twins, Door and Wies (born in 1911), were not very strong physically. Lutz and Jenny sent both girls to the boarding school run by the sisters in Etten, where they could be admitted to a program of studies which served as preparation for admittance to the teachers' school. However, it became quickly evident that they could not keep up with this program due to their fragile health and limited capacities for study, so they returned home and helped with the housekeeping chores, just as Deetje was also being taken in as a baby. Door had already made her desire for monastic life known when they were living near a Carmelite monastery in Halsteren, but she was too young to enter there.[414] She also made plans to go somewhere to study languages, but nothing ever came of this.[415] She continued to feel drawn to monastic life, and when she was allowed to accompany her mother on a visit to Chimay, it was clear that she wanted to enter there. The fact that Dom Simon accepted the physically not-so-strong Door Löb as a novice for the choir sisters was characteristic of his magnanimous recruitment policy.

Door entered Chimay in September 1929. In her first letter home, she described the poverty-stricken conditions in the monastery in Chimay: it was dark, and they were *so* frugal that you "would rather go blind than light the oil lamp." A month later she was clothed as a novice, receiving the name Marie-Thérèse, or simply Theresia.[416] She was happy to have been accepted and she frankly admitted that she "prayed herself to death" for her family.[417] Jenny had been present for the clothing ceremony, together with her daughter Wies, who was permitted to spend the night in the monastery.[418] The next year,

414. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny, May 15, 1926.

415. Ako file 427, Jenny to George, May 30, 1928.

416. Archives, Notre Dame de la Paix, Chimay, clothing and profession documents.

417. Ako file 428, letter, Door to home, September 2, 1929.

418. Ako file 428, letter, October 25, 1929.

on May 4, 1930, Jenny and her friend Jackie Juten accompanied Wies to Chimay, where she too entered the monastery, receiving the monastic name of Veronica. It is not really clear why Wies was not allowed to enter together with her sister. Possibly Jenny wanted to keep her daughter Wies at home for a while yet, to help out there. Shortly after entering, Veronica recounted her experiences in the monastery. Twice a day they had to go stand around the novice mistress, Sr. Scholastique, who told the novices what they had to do, and reprimanded them in turn. It seems she had said something to Veronica as well, but it had not bothered her since she did not understand very much French yet. The novices were kept busy with manual labor such as weaving raffia baskets and making small gifts. Veronica thought it was simply wonderful being in the monastery.[419]

Theresia was allowed to write home on the occasion of making her temporary vows in 1931, which gave her the opportunity to relate that the other novices regarded her as being slow and lazy: "I'm afraid that we're not going to get our wedding garment finished for Heaven."[420] Usually the girls wrote a joint letter home from Chimay, giving their reactions to what the others had written. They did not talk among themselves during their everyday monastic life, since it was intended that they set aside their "worldly" identity to enable them to become completely united to the community and to build up a unique relationship with their Bridegroom, Jesus Christ; so the letters and visits also provided a way for them to relate to one another as blood sisters. Hedwigis was happy that she now had both of her younger sisters near her, and she let that show in her letters home.[421]

419. Ako file 428, letter, Wies (Lien and Door also added a note) to home, May 6, 1930.

420. Ako file 428, letter, August 18, 1931. Door added a little note to Lien's letter to their parents.

421. Ako file 428, May 6, 1930, added to Wies' letter.

Due to illness, Theresia was sent to the health resort in Lustin sur Meuse around Christmas 1931.[422] A few days later, Veronica was allowed to write her twin sister a letter in which she related how she was feeling in Chimay, how things were going in the novitiate, and how everything was piously interpreted.[423] She recounted that she had to sweep the *dortoir* (the dormitory), but what she had really wanted to do was to throw the dust pan and brush down the stairs, along with all the brooms and the other mess as well. She also had the task of assistant *sonneuse* (bell-ringer), which meant she had to ring the monastery bell at certain times. She thought sign language was funny, like playing a game of charades. During the chapter of faults, she had been given a penance to pray several prayers: if you were caught slamming a door, then you had to "méditer la chapitre du silence pour nos 3 malades, ten minutes!"[424] And she wrote that the goal of everyone in the monastery was to become a saint. This letter (naturally) also ended up in Lutz and Jenny's hands.[425]

Veronica was sickly and suffered from rheumatism, so it's quite understandable that she thought it worth mentioning when the heating system in the monastery in Chimay was improved,[426] for it could be bitterly cold there, as well as unhealthily damp. For the rest, the time in Chimay passed quickly—in Veronica's words: "we'll all be in heaven in no time at all, before we even know it"—for that's what it was all about: preparing oneself to be completely taken up in the Lord, being perfectly one with God in heaven. They experienced this earthly life as being nothing more than a short-lived preparation for eternal happiness.

422. Jenny mentioned that she had received a letter concerning this from Father Abbot on December 24, 1931.

423. Ako file 428, letter, Wies to Door, December 29 and 31, 1931.

424. Meditate on the chapter on silence for ten minutes, for our three sick sisters.

425. Ako file 428, letter, Wies to Door, December 29, 1929.

426. Ako file 428, letter, Wies to Father, Novembe 9, 1932.

The religious formation in Chimay was given in French, and for that reason Dom Simon insisted that the young girls first be sent to the boarding school run by the Ladies of Mary in Aalst, where they could take French lessons as part of their program of studies. Veronica and Theresia were not sent to this boarding school, but Paula was, in 1930. Veronica was also very proud of the fact that she learned shorthand in Chimay.

The sisters' attachment to and affection for Dom Simon was supported in Chimay and could be expressed by sending him cards and little gifts, for his feast day, for example.[427] It is significant that, in her card, Veronica asked Dom Simon to pray for her father, because she had the impression that he suffered a great deal, partly due to his sensitivity. The children knew that Lutz had a special bond with Dom Simon.

Clothing ceremonies and profession feasts were special occasions when visitors could be received. Theresia made her temporary profession on April 21, 1931, and her final profession on May 13, 1934. Veronica's temporary profession was May 12, 1932, with her final profession exactly three years later. In a letter which Theresia wrote to her brothers in Koningshoeven shortly before her final profession,[428] she told them about having to take a religion exam from a priest of the diocese before she was allowed to make profession. Fr. Charles van Velsen, who gave religious formation to the sisters in Chimay and also served as their spiritual director, had reprimanded Theresia for her fanatical devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary,[429] saying that she would do better to drop it and limit

427. Ako file 428, letter, Wies to her parents, October 23, 1932.

428. Ako file 429, letter, Door to George, April 1, 1934.

429. In this respect, she was a follower of the teachings of Saint Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort (1673–1716), who had preached a special devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary during his missionary travels through western France. His writings were rediscovered in the nineteenth century and widely disseminated.

herself to the daily rosary and praying the Stations of the Cross on Friday. In between these religious matters, Theresia also recounted daily happenings and unusual occurrences in their monastic life. She thought it worth mentioning that the cows had broken out and she had helped herd them up and drive them back in. Mother Superior had praised her, saying that she should have been a cowherd. Hedwigis noted in the margin of the letter that she had to laugh at that. Once again, the letter was a means for the Löb sisters to have contact with each other.

At the end of that same month, during which she had made her final profession, Theresia was allowed to write her brothers once again,[430] and this time she was complaining of the fact that they did not have an abbess at Chimay. The sisters thought this was the bishop's fault, that he did not want to name a new abbess. Theresia had come to the conclusion that, without the driving force provided by the abbess functioning in her role, they had become a rather "lifeless bunch." Although unaware of it, Theresia also allowed her childish way of reasoning to show through in this letter: she mentioned Veronica's saying that the reason the Blessed Virgin Mary held her head so crooked in most images was because she had to wear such a heavy crown. Veronica was also convinced that the Blessed Virgin wore a different dress every time she appeared—during those years, she was known to be appearing in two places in Belgium, Beauraing and Banneux—so she might have to put on a different dress every hour of the day in heaven.

In 1937 Veronica and Theresia came to the new monastery of Koningsoord as choir sisters, along with the other foundresses. Since both of them were rather weak physically, they were given light housekeeping tasks. Within the community, their personalities attracted little attention.

430. Ako file 429, letter, May 29, 1934.

4.8 Hans

According to Jenny, her youngest son, Hans, also wanted to go to the secondary school in Echt and become a Trappist, just like Nivardus.[431] Hans had lain in bed, crying, because he was afraid he was not smart enough to become a priest, and he thought that meant he could not be a monk either. Lutz comforted him.[432] In the middle of his fifth year of elementary school, on January 30, 1928, Hans did indeed go to the secondary school in Echt, probably in some sort of preparatory class. His extremely serious brother, Nivardus, was still there at the time, in his second year of studies.

At first, things seemed to go well for Hans at Saint Bernard's secondary school. A year or so later, however, it became clear that he really did not feel that a sober, strictly regulated environment (such as that at the Trappist secondary school) was the right place for him. His mother, Jenny, continued to hope he would persevere and choose religious life, so she encouraged him to pray, just as she had done when Linus was having difficulties, and especially to ask the Blessed Virgin Mary for help.[433] She knew that he was a "little show-off" who did not have much to show off at that kind of school,[434] since Hans's talents lay primarily in the arts. He could sing quite well, he played piano and flute, he could draw, and he could act. This latter meant that he could also be quite the clown, which led Jenny to call him a clever little joker.[435] He was home in Bergen op Zoom for Easter vacation, where he and his little sister Pop [Paula] were making music "à la Borgvliet," that is, as they had played for their own enjoyment when they were still living in Nieuw Borgvliet.[436]

431. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, January 1927.

432. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny and Lutz to George, September 23, 1927.

433. Ako file 428, letter, February 6, 1930.

434. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, November 22, 1929.

435. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, January 27, 1931, and March 21, 1931.

436. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, April 1, 1931.

In 1932, it was once again clear that Hans really did not have very much interest in monastic life, to his mother's regret. She had been hoping—while realizing otherwise—that his desire to live the Trappist life would revive.[437] In May 1932, when Hans returned to Echt, Jenny indicated that they "would help him catch up so that he would be ready for the third class, otherwise he would go back to the second class."[438] This latter did not please Lutz. If Hans could not keep up well enough to be promoted to the third class, then Lutz would bring him back home at Pentecost and let him work there until September.[439]

Ignatius had given Hans a stern warning, and that was obvious. In a letter to Ignatius, written in May 1932, Lutz wrote that he had just returned from Echt, where he had learned that Hans did have a chance to make it in the third class, but that he had been fooling around again at school. He had sought refuge with Fr. Crescentius Speckens, who had not been strict enough with him, according to Lutz. Lutz was not pleased with the fact that Fr. Crescentius had not insisted on regular visits to the Blessed Sacrament: he did not want to turn the boys into "praying souls" and had little interest in cultivating an attitude of sacrifice and self-denial. According to Lutz, this Fr. Crescentius, with his soft nature and his free-thinking, had had a disastrous influence on Hans, who gladly took advantage of more freedom. Hans got along really well with Fr. Crescentius, and he was angry about the way his father and mother judged the priest.[440] According to Jenny, Hans was quite headstrong on this point.[441] In spite of all his efforts, Hans did not succeed in catching up at Saint Bernard's secondary school.

437. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, April 12, 1932.

438. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, March 17, 1932.

439. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, April 12, 1932.

440. Ako file 428, letter, Lutz to George, May 19, 1932.

441. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, May 23, 1932 (enclosed with the previous letter from Lutz).

A few months later, Jenny let Ignatius know that Hans had definitely decided against entering the monastery—he wanted to go study electrical engineering. His brothers, reasoning from the premise that entering a monastery was the only right thing to do, and anything deviating from that path was a sign of a lack of strong faith, regarded this situation as Hans's "crisis of faith." In response to their sharp tone, Jenny took her youngest son under her wing by posing a question of conscience: had Hans ever had a real vocation for religious life? She hoped that he would become a person "like God wants," and in so doing, she left room for a happy life outside the monastery.[442]

Hans came home for summer vacation in July 1932—he had just barely passed. On his own initiative—which seems to have been rather remarkable—he recounted at home what the principal of the school had told him about his problems with learning and his behavior at school. Hans wanted to try to pass the final examinations in Echt, and, to this end, Lutz became more involved with him and his studies. When Lutz returned to Koningshoeven for his retreat during his vacation in July 1932, he took Hans with him. Each morning Hans had to write English and Latin compositions in his father's room.

Apparently, he just could not make the grade at the secondary school in Echt, for by September 1932, he had already left to go to the secondary school in Bergen op Zoom, where Lutz taught. Hans wanted to try to finish the five-year program of studies there, so in the evenings, Lutz would help him with his studies. Jenny told Ignatius that he really did not have to worry about his little brother's moral or religious development: Hans was friendly, pleasant, helpful, hard working, calm, and content. He spent a lot of time tinkering with a radio and doing electrical experiments—his uncle Ernst had given him a radio which he could put together himself.[443] Hans did

442. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, July 24, 1932.

443. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, February 3, 1933. At that time,

not go out (to the theater, dances, and other recreational activities which might be regarded as morally dangerous) and he went to Mass each morning, which proved to Jenny that he was a good boy and headed in the right direction.[444]

Back in Bergen op Zoom, Hans joined the Boy Scouts and was quite enthusiastic about their activities,[445] going camping with them in the area around Koningshoeven Abbey and taking part in the silent procession in Breda.[446] Jenny thought he was more pious interiorly than his outward behavior indicated, so she was quite content with him.[447] During Holy Week of 1934, Hans went to Rome with the Boy Scouts, with Associate Pastor De Weerd accompanying them as their leader. Later he would send photos of the catacombs to his brothers in the monastery.[448]

Hans passed his first year of school in Bergen op Zoom (1932–1933) with good grades, so his teachers were satisfied with him. Jenny too was satisfied, but she was still disappointed that he had not entered the monastery. She'd ask the Blessed Virgin Mary to touch Hans and to guide him, "even if he chooses a secular profession" (with that very significant "even").[449]

Jenny enjoyed having Hans at home. He had acquired some photographic equipment and set up his own darkroom. He also got along well with his younger sisters Pop [Paula] and Deetje, even though

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Ernst Loeb was involved with the emerging market for radio equipment. He had earlier worked with film and photographic equipment. Cf. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 92–96.

444. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, September 13, 1932.

445. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, February 16, 1933.

446. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, June 2 and 12, 1933.

447. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, December 29, 1933.

448. Ako file 429, letter, Hans to George, June 27, 1934.

449. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, July 26, 1933. Several months earlier, the Blessed Virgin Mary had been appearing in Beauraing, in Wallonia, and pilgrimages to that place had become popular. Jenny went there with a group and asked the Blessed Virgin Mary to guard and protect her son Hans.

Jenny described them thus: "Hans is a little barking dog and Pop is such a colt"; one minute they're busy doing something together, and the next minute they're squabbling. Jenny was of the opinion that "Hans should be more chivalrous."[450]

Hans did have to work hard to keep up at the secondary school. He realized that he'd missed a lot in the lower classes. Lutz blamed it on the secondary school in Echt: they only took Latin and Greek seriously there, treating the other subjects rather carelessly.[451] Hans's interests lay clearly in a more technical direction. He was fascinated with the intrepid daring of flying machines, and he wanted to become a pilot. Lutz began to look into "the best way for Hans to get an introduction to aviation."[452] However, at Christmas 1934, his report card was worse again, and—note this—he had even received an unsatisfactory from his own father. According to a friend of the family, Lutz was too strict with Hans.[453] A few days later, Hans himself wrote his brothers, thanking them for their good wishes and telling them that the school year 1934–1935 would probably bring a big change in his life. He would not have any more classes after Easter, to give him time to prepare for the final examinations, and if he passed his finals, then certification for flight duty would be the next hurdle.[454]

But the following months were difficult for Hans, due to his father's sickness and death. These deeply moving events took place precisely during the weeks when he needed to be studying for his final examinations. He sought out the silence and rhythm of the monastery.[455] Jenny regarded him as being quite plucky and

450. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, September 5, 1933.

451. Ako file 429, letter, Lutz to George, October 1933.

452. Ako file 429, letter, Lutz to George, November 20, 1934.

453. This was a "Mr. Groot." Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, December 24, 1934.

454. Ako file 429, letter, Hans to George, December 30, 1934.

455. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, April 11, 1935.

resolute,[456] and was glad that he could study there in peace.[457] In Linus's opinion, Hans lost his father at a critical moment in his life, right before his final examinations—he knew that Hans had wanted to become an Air Force officer, and he admired him for that.[458] However, it was really a bit more complicated: after passing his final exams, Hans would have to send his grades to the commander of the military academy in Breda, pending a decision as to whether or not he could begin the training program for reserve officers; then, after a year, he could receive certification for the training program for "flight service," as Jenny termed it.[459]

Hans got his driver's license in September 1935, after having taken the exam twice,[460] but his plans for military schooling did not go so well. It seems there was no room for him as a reserve officer in October. He would have to wait until April 1936 for certification and the military academy's entrance exams. While he was waiting, he went with his mother to Lustin sur Meuse for a while, and then on to Forges, where he could work as a servant at Scourmont Abbey for three months, thanks to the good contacts which the family had with the abbot, Anselme Le Bail.[461] While he was there, one of the priests was appointed to be his spiritual director, and he spoke quite highly of Hans.[462] In June 1936, Hans went to The Hague for the military certification, and a month later was notified that he had been rejected; consequently, he could not become a pilot.[463] As an

456. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, April 12, 1935.

457. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, April 19, 1935.

458. Ako file 429, letter, George, Rob, and Ernst to Lien, Wies, and Door, Good Friday 1935. This type of correspondence between the members of the family in the two monasteries was exceptional.

459. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, July 24, 1935.

460. Ako file 429, letters, September 12 and 16, 1935.

461. Ako file 430, Telegram from Hans to Mother Jenny in Lustin, January 4, 1936. Letter, February 1936.

462. Ako file 430, letter, Fr. Leo to Jenny, April 23, 1936.

463. Ako file 430, letter, July 22, 1936.

alternative, Hans considered becoming a specialist in Southeast Asian studies and working for the Department of Domestic Affairs in the Dutch East Indies. Mr. Smits, the director of the secondary school in Bergen op Zoom, directed Hans's studies, which consisted of various correspondence courses. In the meantime, Hans was temporarily living at the apostolic school of the Priests of the Sacred Heart. Smits thought it was a shame that Jos Juten and others had not encouraged Hans to put a bit more effort into his attempts to gain admission to the training program for military officers. Later, Jenny made it sound like Hans had been rejected for pilot's training because he was a half a centimeter too short in height.[464] But the next thing that happened was that he failed the exam for a specialist in Southeast Asian studies as well,[465] so he had to look around and see what possibilities were still left.[466]

Jenny had heard him talking about starting a drivers' school, as well as becoming a youth leader. Various friends and acquaintances were called upon to help look for work for Hans. Henk van Arkel in The Hague was willing to see if there might be any opportunities with the Biliton Company. He was going to the Dutch East Indies for an inspection, and he would look into possibilities there.[467] The abbot of Koningshoeven was also approached regarding a job for Hans.[468] In the meantime, he could do odd jobs for Cherubinus, the principal of the apostolic school in Bergen op Zoom. It was a bit difficult to find a suitable position in those years, even though he took whatever he could get. He applied for a job in Bilthoven, and he frequently accompanied the veterinarian T. van den Bogaard (related to the monk Van den Bogaard, of course), when he made his rounds of the farms in the area. In January 1937, he tried to get

464. Ako file 430, letter, September 20, 1936.
465. Ako file 430, letter, July 28, 1936.
466. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, October 16, 1935.
467. Ako file 430, letters, August 8 and December 16, 1936.
468. Ako file 430, letter, November 16, 1936.

work with the Divine Word Missionaries in Steyl, but they were not hiring any laypersons. He was working as a traveling salesman in April 1937, which meant he was allowed to take the car to Amsterdam, where he could stay with his uncle Ab Herzberg and Aunt Thea.[469] When he was in Berkel-Enschot, he was allowed to park the car in the garage on the property of the Trappistine monastery, which was under construction at the time. He also worked there for a while at the beginning of 1937, helping to get the mushroom cellar started for the sisters of Koningsoord. At that point, he was living with his mother and Deetje in the Gerardus Rooming House in Berkel-Enschot. A few months later, he got a job as a draftsman with the Tempofoon British Import Company in Tilburg,[470] where he worked for a year and a half.[471] After that, he had a job with another company for a while. In December 1939, he moved to Monster, near The Hague, since his uncle Paul Loeb had some work for him. While he was working in The Hague, Hans once again had more contact with his father's family.

4.9 Paula

Paula was attending elementary school in Bergen op Zoom while her sisters, one by one, were going to Chimay to enter the monastery. Her father was of the opinion that she was receiving a good Catholic education there. When she had completed her elementary education, she went to Moerdijk, to the boarding school run by the Sacred Heart Sisters. Jenny, however, did not like the fact that Paula was picking up a Rotterdam accent there,[472] so, after about six months, she pulled her youngest daughter out of that school and brought

469. Ako file 430, letter, Jenny to George, April 21, 1937.

470. Ako file 430, letter, April 1, 1937.

471. Ako file 430, letter, September 20, 1938.

472. Ako file 428. On January 6, 1930, Jenny wrote that Paula was speaking normally again and the Rotterdam accent was gone.

her back home again.[473] Paula got along quite well with her brother Hans. When he was home during his school vacations, they played music together and developed photographs. Paula was called "Pop" [Dutch for "Baby Doll"], since she was the youngest in the family, and she was just as mischievous as Linus had been.[474] She really did not have much to do with little Deetje though.[475]

In 1931, just as Paula was finishing elementary school, it was already clear to her mother that she too would become a Trappistine, just like her sisters. Jenny thought that Paula took after her grandfather Van Gelder, since she loved animals so much:

> When she gets to be a Trappistine, they'll have a real farmer's daughter in her. I think the barn will be her favorite place to work.[476]

Almost a year later, in April 1932, Jenny told her son Ignatius that Paula "had already more than half decided to become a Trappistine later on."[477] She wanted to go to the boarding school in Aalst run by the Ladies of Mary,[478] where she would receive French lessons

473. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, April 16, 1929.

474. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, May 30, 1928.

475. Jenny spoke of strained relations between the two of them. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, January 9, 1931.

476. Ako file 429, letter, June 13, 1931.

477. Ako file 429, letter, April 12, 1932.

478. The religious congregation of the Daughters of Mary and Joseph was established around 1830 in Aalst. It later split into the Ladies of Mary and the Sisters of Saint Joseph. Their mission was to offer young girls a high quality education. There were several foundations in Belgium as well as in England and the United States of America. Around 1930, the congregation became involved in Catholic missionary activities in Africa, where they took charge of the schools. The boarding school in Aalst had a good reputation. One of Dom Simon's blood sisters had close ties with the school and regarded it as a good place to start for someone wanting to live the religious life in a monastery.

See: http://www.daughtersofmaryandjoseph.org/index.php?page=74.

in preparation for entering Chimay. Paula did indeed go to Aalst in September 1932, but after a year, she returned home again[479] for more than one reason: she was still too young to enter the monastery, and Jenny missed her a great deal.[480] So she was sent to school in Bergen op Zoom for a while to study home economics.[481]

Beginning in September 1935, Paula went to the sisters in Hoogerheide on a regular basis to see if she could receive some sort of teacher's certification.[482] This had nothing to do with following a program of studies, but rather with acquiring skills in home economics and creative subjects. During this period, she was occupied with choosing her state in life.[483] Due to the fact that she really missed her sisters, who had all become nuns, it seemed obvious that she too would choose monastic life. In April 1936, Paula went to visit Chimay, together with Clara Wiessing, George Wiessing's daughter. This was apparently sufficient reason for George Wiessing to write his godson, Ignatius, saying he was glad that "Pop had found her destination now as well," presuming she would be entering the monastery. In August 1936, Paula and ten other girls did go to Chimay to enter the community. Shortly before, Jenny had written Ignatius that she could already see Pop as a little bride,[484] "sweet and simple, an unspoiled soul, full of devout submission and the desire to make sacrifices." Before entering, Paula went with her mother to visit her

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See: A. Geubels, *DvM: Roots en expansie. Een kleine kroniek* [Ladies of Mary: Roots and expansion: a short chronicle]. Website www.aalst.be.

479. Ako file 428, letter, Jenny to George, September 13, 1932.

480. Ako file 429, letters, September 21, 1933; September 24, 1933; October 9, 1933; December 4, 1933. Jenny felt lonely when she lost contact with various acquaintances and withdrew more and more from public life.

481. Ako file 429, letter, November 20, 1934.

482. Ako file 429, letter, June 4, 1935.

483. Ako file 429. Mother Jenny noticed this and wrote her son George about it, August 5, 1935.

484. She meant a "bride of Christ." This was how nuns regarded themselves.

brothers in Koningshoeven. She also took leave of various friends,[485] and she let her brother Ignatius know that she would enter Bonneval Abbey if she knew that he would be staying in Bonnecombe. She also wondered if there were Trappistines in Japan or in the Dutch East Indies, for she had always had an interest in the missions, but she presumed that she would first have to stay in Chimay for five years or so.[486]

On February 16, 1937, Paula was clothed as a novice and received the monastic name of Louisa. Jenny, Hans, and Deetje were present for the ceremony, and they signed the act of the chapter as witnesses.[487] Jenny had wanted to make a bride's dress for her, but she did not get that far.[488] This was the beginning of Paula's novitiate, during which she would be part of the group moving from Chimay to the new monastery in Berkel-Enschot, but apparently she had already begun to have doubts about her choice to enter the monastery. The abbess, M. Demarrez, was aware of Paula's situation, so she made it clear to her that she would be better off seeking her happiness in life somewhere else. In August 1937, Paula left the monastery.[489]

She then went to live with her mother in the Gerardus Rooming House in Berkel-Enschot. Paula had not completed any program of studies, and she could not find a job, but she did become friends with Harrie van Broekhoven from Drunen, a teacher who was nine years her senior. When her mother died, Paula was only nineteen years old, so she had to be placed in the custody of a guardian. Because there was so little contact with the Loeb and Van Gelder families,

485. Ako file 430, letters, May 11 and June 18, 1936.

486. Ako file 430, letter, Jenny and Paula to George, July 28, 1936.

487. Clothing and profession documents from the archives of Notre Dame de la Paix, Chimay.

488. Ako file 430, letter, January 4, 1937.

489. According to Paula, her brothers and sisters resented her decision to leave the monastery. Dom Simon had also shown his disappointment in her. This made a deep impression on her.

none of the aunts or uncles were even considered as possible guardians. Instead, Jos Juten became Paula's legal guardian, since all the Löb children really regarded Jos and Jackie Juten as their "aunt and uncle." Hans acted as fiduciary for both Paula and Deetje. By that time, Paula was already engaged to Harrie van Broekhoven, and she went to live with her fiancé's older brother until they were married on November 16, 1938, in the parish church in Berkel-Enschot.[490] She received a wedding card from her brother in Bonnecombe Abbey. He was known to draw little dolls and other things in his letters, but this time he had designed a family coat of arms for Paula and Harrie, explaining the symbolism with moralizing rhymes about marriage and the family.[491]

Ignatius corresponded with Paula regularly from Bonnecombe, congratulating her on her birthday in December 1938[492] and consulting her about preparations for Nivardus's ordination to the priesthood in 1939: what would be the best thing to give him as a present? Paula and Harrie were now filling the role of keeping the members of the family, both within the various monasteries and without, in touch with one another.

4.10 Deetje

Marietje Netten came to the Löb family as a baby in 1925, where she was mothered by the twins, Wies and Door, who nicknamed her "Deetje." Hans was a beloved older brother to her, as well as a playmate, but her relationship with Paula was always a bit strained, partly because Paula had now lost the full attention which she had enjoyed as the youngest in the family. Jenny liked posing with baby

490. Information taken from Harrie van Broekhoven and Paula Löb's wedding booklet, in Loek van Broekhoven's documentation.

491. Ako file 430, letter, George writing from Bonnecombe, November 14, 1938.

492. Ako file 430, letter, George, writing from Bonnecombe, December 19–20, 1938.

Deetje in her lap. Marietje kept her family name, Netten, but Jenny and Lutz kept contact with her own family to a bare minimum, for fear of their bad influence. Jenny regarded herself as belonging to a higher level of society and really felt she had to show her authority whenever Deetje's grandmother came to visit, giving her as little opportunity for influence as possible.[493] Deetje's sister, Tonia, also came to visit regularly and sometimes even spent the night. More frequent contact with Tonia was to be expected, since the Guardianship Council in Breda had asked Lutz to act as guardian of the Netten children, that is, both Marietje and Tonia.[494] Lutz and Jenny did try to raise Tonia above her family's poverty and set her on the right path, and they felt they had succeeded when Tonia entered a monastery a few years later.

Lutz also tried to set her father, Cornelis Netten, and his oldest son, André, on the right path, and in his opinion, there was no better place for that to happen than in a monastery. Perhaps Lutz was a bit naïve in this regard, due to his zeal for converting others. After consulting Dom Simon, both father and son Netten could be received in Koningshoeven Abbey. The father, Cornelius, only lasted six months in that sober environment, from October 1928 to February 1929. His son André was admitted to the novitiate, being clothed as a lay brother in 1930 and making temporary vows in 1932. Two years later he left the monastery, after a long probation period had made it clear that he really was not suited for monastic life. In those economically hard times, André had few prospects outside the monastery, so he continued hanging around the abbey for several years. He was also making plans to join his brother, Piet, in Meerssen. On several different occasions, André harassed the Löb family and was rude and ungrateful whenever Lutz greeted him in public.

Deetje accompanied Jenny on several trips to visit the girls in Chimay, and she was also present at various celebrations for the boys

493. Ako file 427, letter, Jenny to George, October 5, 1928.

494. Ako file 427, letter, J. P. J. Asselbergs to Lutz Löb, September 10, 1928.

in Koningshoeven. When she received the sacrament of confirmation in 1934, she felt she was really somebody with all the attention she received.[495] When Lutz died, she was ten years old, and the repeated changes of residence that followed interrupted her schooling regularly. When Jenny died, Deetje, at thirteen, was really left all alone. Hans was made her guardian, which Deetje thought was just fine, since she was especially attached to him. There were no close family ties with any of the other children in the Löb family. She was sent to Catharinenberg, a boarding school in Oisterwijk run by the Franciscan Sisters of Oirschot. There was occasional contact with the Löb family, particularly on special occasions, such as Nivardus's ordination to the priesthood in 1939. A photo of Sr. Veronica lying on her bier in the monastery church in 1944 was found in Deetje's estate, even though there's no mention anywhere of her having been present at the funeral, so apparently she did value this memory. After the war, she worked as a nurse in Bussum and later in Saint Joseph's Hospital in Eindhoven. Around 1955, she went to Ghana to work in hospitals and outpatient clinics with the Medical Mission Sisters, returning to the Netherlands in 1970. She then worked as a nurse in a residential care facility for the elderly in Leidschendam until 1990. She died on November 3, 2006.

Seven years after the war ended, her brother André once again contacted her.[496] He had presumed that his little sister Marietje had died in the war, but after reading several newspaper articles about the Löb family and seeing the photos accompanying these articles, he was able to track her down. The editors of the newspaper gave him his supposedly lost sister's telephone number—she was then working as a nurse in the hospital in Bussum. So Deetje and André were once again in touch with each other, but whether she had any further contact with the other Netten children via André is not known.

495. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, May 24, 1934.

496. Article in *De Stem* [The Voice], March 17, 1952.

What Deetje picked up from the religious sphere, beliefs, and practices within the Löb family, and what she thought about them, remains unknown; she never mentioned anything. Later in life, she seemed to be able or willing to remember little or nothing along those lines.[497]

Weighing the Evidence

The years 1922–1938 formed the most crucial period in the life of the Löb family. In particular, at Jenny's instigation (or perhaps even under pressure), all the children chose a contemplative way of life as practiced by the Trappists and Trappistines. Their father had come in contact with the Trappist monastery of Koningshoeven in 1926, and his ascetic way of life would also have stimulated the children in their choice. Whether or not, and to what extent, the children really made this decision their own as time went on, or whether they resisted doing so, is not always clear in all cases, but there are differences which can be noted.

For Hans, who departed for the Trappists' secondary school in Echt in January 1928, it was quickly evident that his future did not lie in the monastery. As the youngest of the boys, he was less bound by the controlling influence of his parents than the others were. He dared to wrest himself loose from the forced religious atmosphere at home. Paula, who entered Chimay in August 1936, realized after about six months that monastic life really did not suit her. She missed her sisters a great deal, and that was why she had gone to the monastery. In Chimay, she had had opportunities to be with her sisters, but the monastic discipline in the new foundation of Koningsoord was so strict that they had almost no contact with each other at all. When she left the monastery, her father had already died and the influence of Jenny had also diminished, so there was more room for Paula to make her own independent choices. Rob

497. Interview, P. Steffen with Ms. M. Netten on September 9, 1998.

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was really enthusiastic and had pious desires, but he continued to have trouble with the strict rules and regulations of the various monastic communities to which he successively belonged. The oldest son, George, had some trouble shifting from his conviction that he was called to be a missionary priest and embracing contemplative monastic life. However, he quickly adapted to life in the abbey and became a real advocate for contemplative life. For that reason, it is not inconceivable that it was really George who convinced his sister Lien that she should give up her plans for a teaching career with a congregation of active sisters in favor of the contemplative life. For the twins, Door and Wies, the monastery seemed to be primarily a safe place where they could lead a sheltered life and be cared for. They both exhibited a certain naïve piety and gave the impression that they were happy living in the monastery. Ernst was captivated by contemplative life in his youthful élan and lived it out in all its radicality. For him, there was never any doubt. However, his physical constitution did occasion problems in keeping up with the demands of monastic life.

Time and time again Jenny could be seen stimulating her children to devote themselves completely to God and to turn away from secular society, but she herself had a really hard time with the fact that she too would have to distance herself from her children if they were to do what she was encouraging them to do. She interpreted her experience as *Grace and Sacrifice*. The choices their children made regarding the further path of their lives confirmed the rightness of the choice which Lutz and Jenny had made when they themselves chose to convert to Catholicism. The choices of their children were also the radical consequence of their parents' choice: Lutz and Jenny gave themselves and their entire family wholly to God.

Taking all their religious activities as a whole, one can see an inward movement, a movement from public to withdrawn, a movement from active to contemplative, a movement to that which Lutz and Jenny saw as the heart of their faith: total surrender and offering oneself to God. The intensity and tempo of this movement differed

for each of them. Moving from The Hague to Halsteren, and then to Bergen op Zoom, gave the family the opportunity to become active in Catholic life by fully participating in public church activities and apostolates. As converts, they endeavored to convert others or to bring others back to the right path. The contemplative side had always been present in Lutz and had been expressed in his theological studies and his spirituality and ascesis. Jenny, however, was more socially inclined and had developed her musical and dramatic talents. Nonetheless, she too quickly came to cherish the ideal of contemplative monastic life and even considered entering the monastery herself. Remaining in the "world" was a necessary evil for her; Lutz had already been living as a monk in the world for years. The contacts with the Trappists and Trappistines, which began in 1926, led not only to all their children but even to Lutz and Jenny themselves turning more and more away from the "world" and withdrawing into contemplation and ascesis. This turnabout became externally noticeable in Jenny around 1930, when she withdrew from her socio-cultural life and oriented herself more toward witnessing to her faith.

A correspondence can be seen between Lutz and Jenny's religious-ideological motivation and developments within society. In the 1920s, there was a more active, vibrant Catholic lifestyle within society as a whole. When their personal family life began to become more sober around 1930, this paralleled a more general poverty and a worsening of the entire economic system. Their own limited financial resources played a role in their choice to live soberly and to stop comparing themselves with the Loeb family's wealth.

Jenny's impression of herself was that of a simple, ordinary, culturally developed woman, "with an artist's heart which was quite sensitive to beauty—not a worrywart."[498] In Bergen op Zoom, she had to adapt to an entirely different way of life, with less wealth, but she did retain a certain eccentricity. She was hospitable and received

498. Ako file 429, letter, Jenny to George, September 23 and 24, 1934.

many visitors. She took care of the household affairs and determined the choices made by her children. Her presence was a dominating factor, forming the link which bound the other members of the family together. She wrote openheartedly about her feelings and her life of faith, especially to her oldest son, Ignatius, with whom she had a close relationship. At the end of her life, Jenny withdrew more into herself, maintaining few friendships, and becoming rather isolated after Lutz's death.

Lutz evokes the image of an intellectual: philosophically oriented, a bit unrealistic, and quite naïve as far as business matters went. Household affairs did not matter much to him, and he left the childrearing to Jenny. He was a loner, quiet. He stayed busy with his work at school, but his heart lay in his studies and his religious and ecclesiastical activities. During his own lifetime, he was regarded as a very pious man by those around him. He was active in the church and he had an intense prayer life. He was regularly in the company of clerics and, by means of independent study, had acquired knowledge of theological subjects. He was taken seriously by his contemporaries. Among the Trappists in the Netherlands, he was a well-respected person—they valued his knowledge and his translations—but outside these circles, he remained unknown. According to Mr. Smits, the director of the secondary school in Bergen op Zoom, Lutz Löb's characteristic virtue was self-denial. When Lutz died, he referred to him as "holy" because of his piety and ascetic lifestyle.

From the internal evidence of the letters, it does seem that Jenny was the driving force behind the religious choices made within the family, but this was probably not noticeable to outsiders: in conformity with the then prevailing social views, this steering role was reserved to the man. In addition, the fact that Lutz was a teacher, and that he held several administrative positions related to his church activities, would have certainly given the impression that he was the one who determined his children's course in life.

Dom Simon Dubuisson was the one person who helped this family realize their religious ideals in a specific direction, and who was

able to awaken enthusiasm for the Trappist and Trappistine life in most of the children. But we've also seen that other factors played an important role in this process as well. Several of the children had an insufficient capacity for study and would not have been able to pursue their further education anywhere else. They did not seem to have any other options which would offer them prospects for a good future. Dom Simon presented them with an opportunity to follow a program of studies, while the choice for monastic life would also mean that they would be cared for. Given Lutz and Jenny's financial problems, it worked out quite well for Dom Simon to pay for Nivardus's and Hans's education in Echt; and there were no additional expenses for the others who were in the monasteries. The financial situation did play a role, as well as the limited capacities for study with some of the children, but the religious radicalism of the parents and the docile submission of most of the children were the decisive factors.

The bonds between the parents and the children were quite strong, but this changed when the children left home after completing elementary school, when they were placed in boarding schools or in a monastic program of studies. This also determined the mutual bonds among the children themselves to a large extent. When they were in the monasteries, there was no question of any regular contact with each other as blood brothers and sisters. Mother Jenny maintained the family bonds with her visits and many letters, speaking to the children as if she had them gathered around the kitchen table to recount the daily news of the neighborhood. The children in the monasteries responded to each other as well in their letters. Although there were set limits placed on correspondence and visits in the monasteries,[499] Jenny especially paid little attention to these

499. The observances of the nuns were even stricter than those of the monks in this regard. See Ako, *Koningsoord Regeling voor Correspondence en Bezoek* [Koningsoord Observances for Correspondence and Visits], by M. Demarrez, abbess, mimeographed publication. Also *Reglementen OCSO* [Observances OCSO] (Westmalle, 1928).

regulations. She sent countless letters, throughout the entire year, and she visited Chimay and Koningshoeven frequently. Lutz did not visit his children in the monasteries very often, but perhaps he had less opportunity to do so, due to his work at school.

During the course of the years, the Löb family had become more and more estranged from the Loeb and Van Gelder clans, due to their radical choice for Catholicism and their decline in wealth. Jenny and Lutz consciously distanced themselves from the world of most of the other members of their families. Lutz did appeal to family bonds when he was in trouble financially, but once a solution was found for the worst of the problems, the contacts once again decreased. For that reason, it is really not so unexpected that only a few members of his family came to Lutz's funeral—there was more to it than simply the fact that they, as Jews, might feel out of place at a Catholic funeral. The alienation ran deeper. Nonetheless, the Loeb clan continued to show an interest in Lutz's children. The threatening circumstances in the greater world also contributed to a tightening of family bonds. In particular, Hans Löb was in touch with Lutz's family in Amsterdam and The Hague, receiving the help he needed to find a job and a place to live.

The social context in which the family lived was seldom mentioned in Jenny and Lutz's correspondence with their children in the monasteries. Lutz, however, certainly encountered these social problems in his youth work and in his work for the Conference of Saint Vincent de Paul. He did notice that youth were becoming more radical politically, and he saw that as being the result of a declining morality in child raising and a disunity among their leaders, which he noticed even within Catholic circles.[500] The children were living in the monasteries, more or less cut off from the social world, so they picked up little of the increasing economic and political tensions.

The Löb children regarded themselves as Catholics and never stopped to think that their Jewish background might ever cause

500. Ako file 428, Lutz's Christmas letter, 1932.

them any problems. The other monks and nuns in both monasteries were not even aware of their Jewish descent.

Lutz and Jenny, however, were quite conscious of their Jewish background. They were aware of the threatening situation for Jews in Germany after Adolf Hitler came to power—the murder of their brother-in-law, Wilhelm Spiegel, was sufficiently alarming—but they probably would have hardly thought that the same suffering would extend to Jews in the Netherlands as well.

The Löb family, Bergen op Zoom, 1923. Standing, from left to right: Ernst, Wies, George, Door, Jenny, and Rob. Seated, from left to right: Lien, Paula, Lutz, and Hans.

The Löb family in Bergen op Zoom, 1926. Standing, from left to right: Wies, George, Ernst, Rob, and Jenny. Seated, from left to right: Door with foster child Deetje, Paula, Lien, Hans, and Lutz.

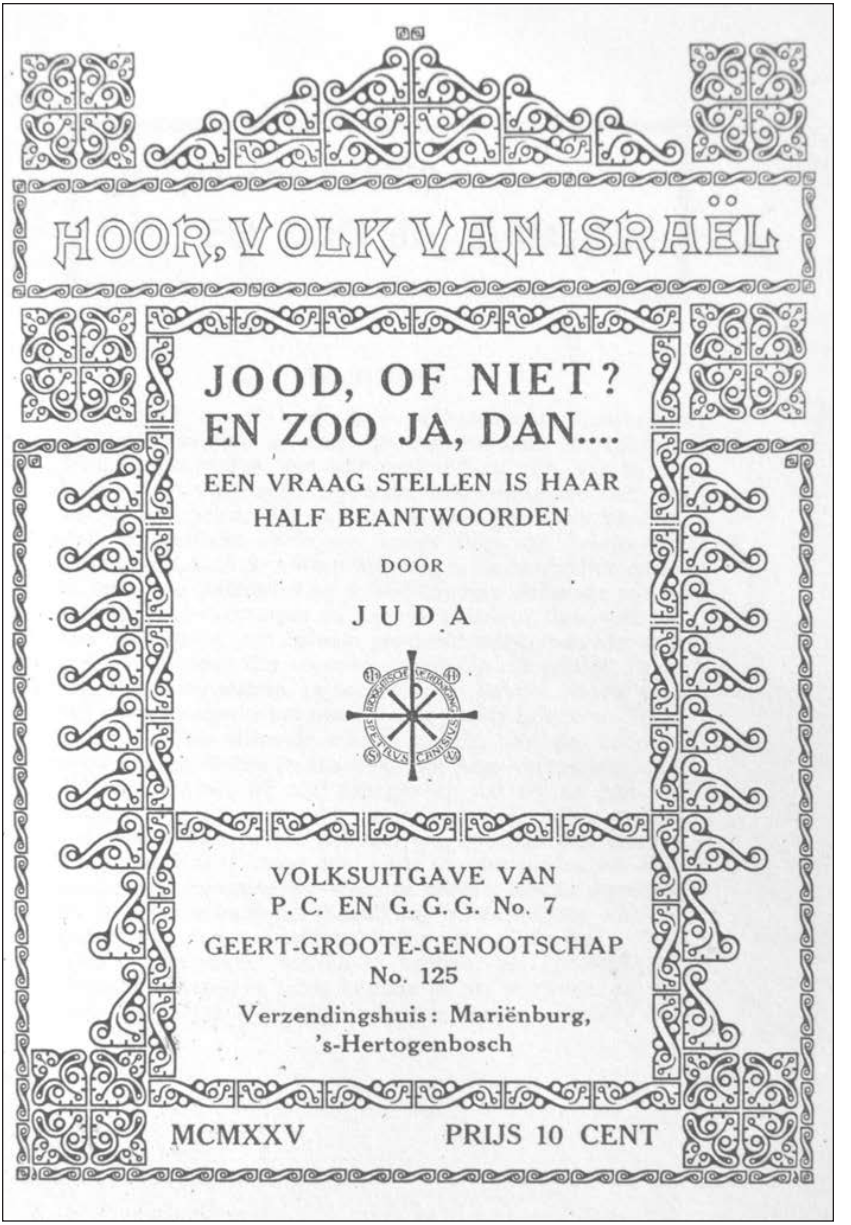
The administration and teaching faculty of the Roman Catholic Secondary School and Business College in Bergen op Zoom in 1924. Seated, from left to right: Associate Pastor Wolters, W. Asselbergs, M. Deenen, J. Asselbergs, and J. Smits. Standing, from left to right: J. Buys, G. Paulides, P. van de Heyden, unknown, W. Willems, L. Löb, J. Vlekke, A. van de Laarschot, and P. van Egeraat.

Lutz Löb taught mathematics, chemistry, and physics from 1922 until 1935. Here he is with some students in the chemistry lab, around 1931.

Anton van Dijk (1887–1967), as associate pastor of the Holy Martyrs of Gorcum parish.

Leo (Anton) van Dijk, as monk of Koningshoeven Abbey.

Jos van Dijk (1890–1961), contractor for Koningsoord Abbey.



Pamphlet by Juda (Lutz Löb), 's-Hertogenbosch, 1925.

Lien (fourth from left) as a student at the teachers' school run by the Sisters of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph in Hoogerheide, in 1927.

Nathan and Lina Löb-Rubens on the occasion of their fiftieth wedding anniversary, The Hague, March 1927.

The Loeb daughters with their husbands. From left to right: Wilhelm Spiegel (Emma's husband), Emma Loeb, Thea Loeb, Jo Loeb, Alex Paradies (Jo's husband). Sitting in the foreground: Abel Herzberg (Thea's husband).

The Loeb sons with their wives. From left to right: Bettie Levenbach (Alfred's wife), Alfred Loeb, Marianne Konijn (Paul's wife), Paul Loeb, Esther Wiener (Ernst's wife), Ernst Loeb.

Jenny Löb-van Gelder played an active role in the cultural life in Bergen op Zoom during the years 1925–1930.

N. V. SOCIETEIT „THALIA"

Zaterdag 28 Januari 1928, 8 uur n.m.

CONCERT

door de

R.K. Symphonie Vrueghdenbloeme

Soliste: Mej. E. KERSTENS.

Pianobegeleiding: Mevr. LöB VAN GELDER.

PROGRAMMA

1 **Krönungsmarsch a. d. „Prophet"** . Meyerbeer.
2. **Martha** Ouverture de l'Opéra . . v. Flotow.
3. **Les cloches de Corneville**
Fantaisie sur l'opéra
4. *a* **Deine blaue Augen** . . . Carl. Bohm.
b **Spiritu Sancto** . . . . . Carl. Loewe.
c **Slapedoe** . . . . . Adrien A. Fagel.

PAUZE.

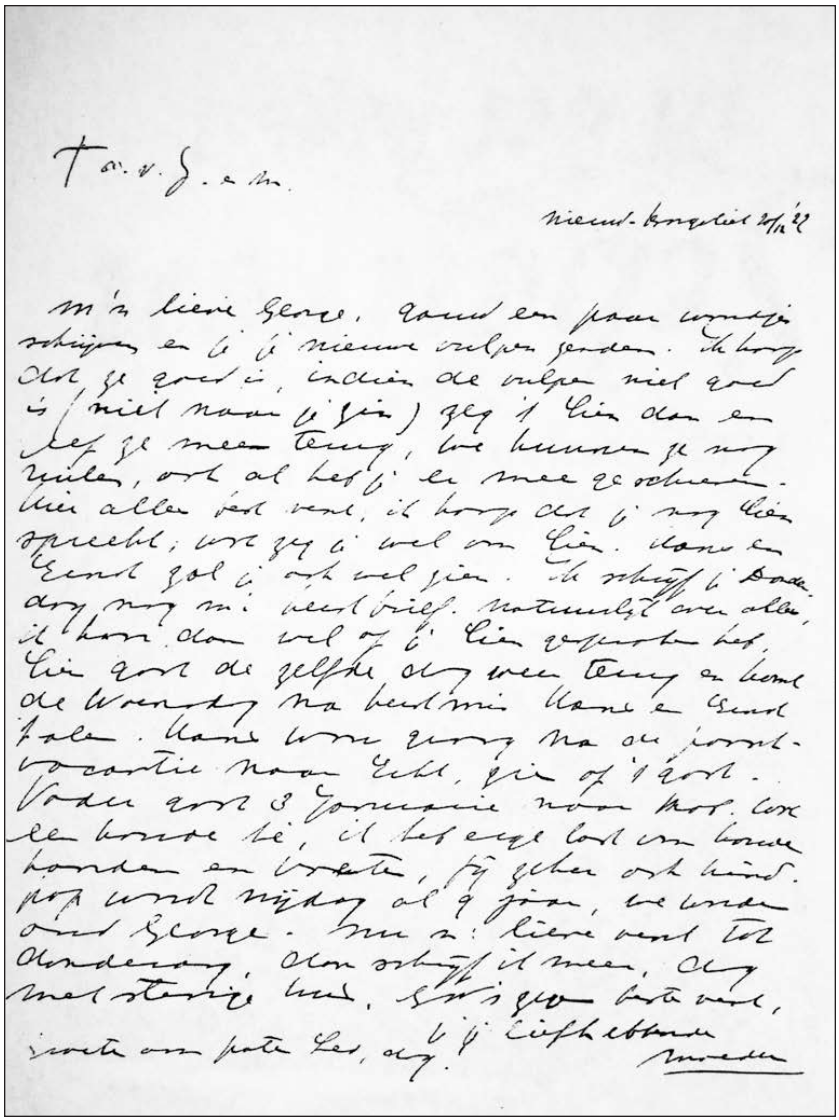
5 **Lenz und Liebe,** Walzer . . v. Blon.
6. *a* **Immanuel** . . . . . E. Nössler.
b **Ave Maria** . . . . . Fr. Schubert,
c **Der Spielmann** . . . . . E. Hildach.
Voor Viool, Piano en Zang.
7. **Romans** voor viool-solo . . . . Beethoven.
dhr. Chr. Stubenrauch.
8. **Hoffmann's Erzählungen,**
Fantasie a. d. Oper Offenbach.

Uitsluitend en gratis toegankelijk voor donateurs van „Vrueghdenbloeme" en leden van „Thalia".
Dit programma strekt tevens tot bewijs van toegang.
De tekst der liederen zijn in de zaal verkrijgbaar ad 10 cent.

N. V. Drukkerij en Uitg.-Mij De Zoom van H. P. M. Verlinden, Bergen op Zoom

Lien (1928).

Door (1928).



One of the many letters which Jenny wrote to her children in the monastery, especially her oldest son, George. The children regarded the letters as "Mother's newspaper."

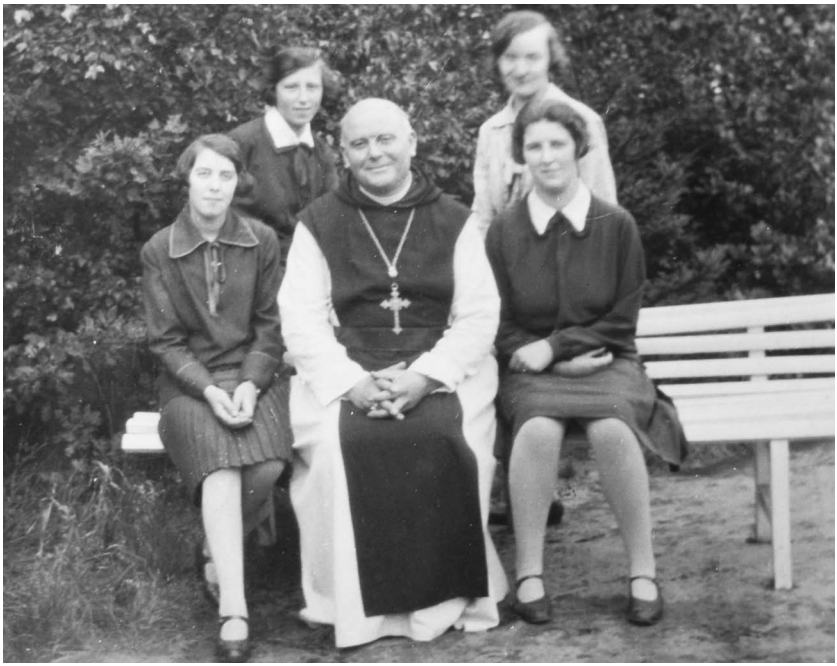
Two sworn comrades at the Trappists' Saint Bernard's secondary school in Echt, November 15, 1926: Guus van den Bogaard (the later Dom Cyprianus, abbot of Koningshoeven) and Ernst Löb.

Guus van den Bogaard (middle) and Ernst Löb (right) played starring roles in the play *Amet-Bernardus*, Echt, 1928.

Hans wearing a Trappist habit, Echt, 1928.

During the vacations, the "future Trappists" from Saint Bernard's secondary school in Echt were welcome in Koningshoeven Abbey. Standing, second from the left: Ernst; fifth from the left: Guus van den Bogaard. Seated in the middle: Fr. Joannes Komen. Front row, in the middle: Hans Löb.

On April 18, 1928, the Löb family gathered in Koningshoeven's gatehouse to say goodbye to Lien, who entered the Trappistine monastery of Notre Dame de la Paix in Chimay (Belgium). Her brothers, George and Rob, had already entered Koningshoeven Abbey. Standing, from left to right: Door, Rob (monastic name: Linus), Ernst, George (monastic name: Ignatius), Wies. Seated, from left to right: Lien, Lutz, Jenny with Deetje. In the foreground: Paula and Hans.



Dom Simon Dubuisson made several "get-acquainted" trips, taking young ladies from the Netherlands to visit the Trappistine monastery in Chimay. Before leaving, one group was photographed on the grounds of Koningshoeven Abbey. From left to right: Wies Löb (Sr. Veronica), Dora van den Bogaard (Sr. Gerarda), Dom Simon, Ria Erhart (Sr. Simone), and one of Ria Erhart's cousins, around 1929.

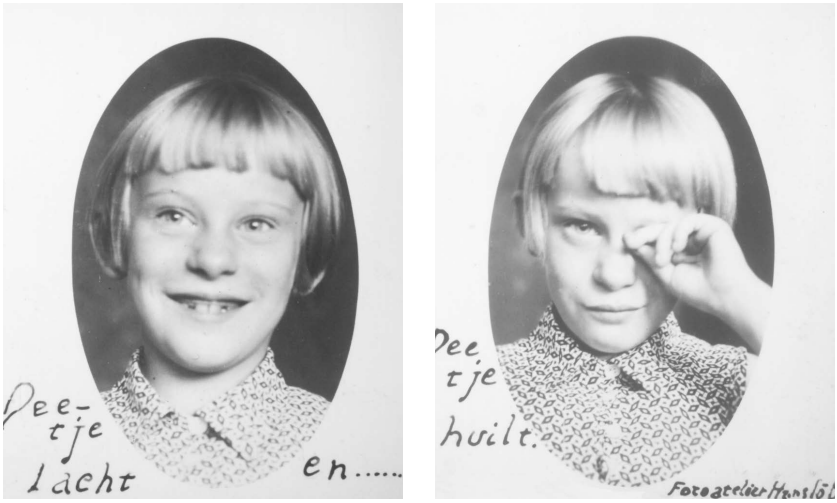
Hans as a member of the Boy Scouts, Adolf Kolping Troop in Bergen op Zoom, 1933.

Paula as a member of the Catholic Youth Movement in Bergen op Zoom, 1932.

A scene at home on Parallelweg in Bergen op Zoom, around 1932. From left to right: Lutz, Deetje, Jenny, and Paula.

Piano recital. From left to right: Lutz, Deetje, Jenny, a girlfriend, and Paula.

In the backyard: Lutz, Jenny, and Deetje.



Photos of Deetje, made by Hans Löb: "Deetje laughs and . . . Deetje cries. Photographer: Hans Löb."

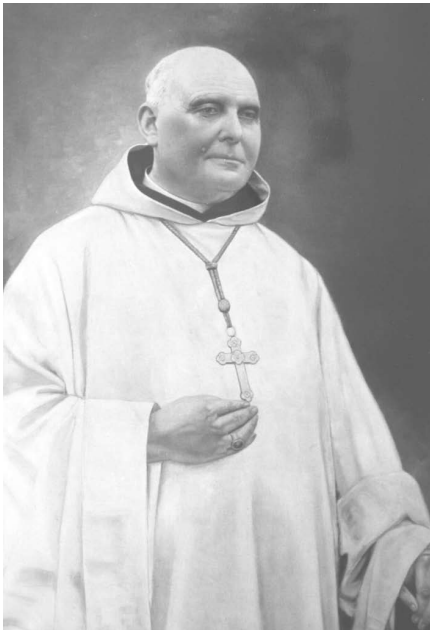
Jenny and Lutz, around 1932.

Wilhelm Spiegel,
around 1930.

Emma Spiegel-Loeb,
around 1930.

On November 13, 1930, Sr. Hedwigis was one of the parties who signed the deed for the purchase of the land on which the new monastery, Koningsoord Abbey, was to be built. In Koningshoeven Abbey, Sr. Hedwigis met her brothers Ignatius (left), Linus (standing), and Nivardus (right).

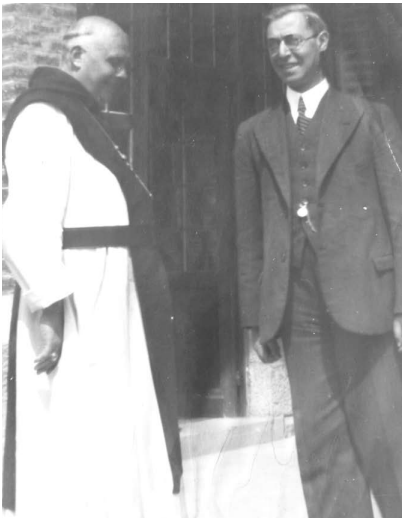
Dom Simon Dubuisson, abbot of Koningshoeven Abbey, 1913–1945.



M. Gertrudis Demarrez, abbess of Koningsoord Abbey, 1937–1958.

On September 30, 1931, Ignatius made his solemn profession as a monk of Koningshoeven Abbey. Standing, from left to right: Lutz, Nivardus, Jos Juten, Linus, Pastor Vincent Kuijpers, George Wiessing, Ignatius. Seated, from left to right: Jackie Juten, Jenny, Eva de Man. In the foreground: Paula and Hans.

The three brothers: Ignatius, Linus, and Nivardus; Koningshoeven, September 30, 1931.



Dom Simon Dubuisson, abbot, and Lutz Löb; Koningshoeven, September 30, 1931.

Lutz Löb (1881–1935), a drawing by one of Lutz's colleagues.

Heden overleed, tot onze diepe droefheid, na een geduldig gedragen lijden, gesterkt door de Genademiddelen der H. Kerk, onze innig geliefde Echtgenoot en Vader,

DE WELEDELGESTRENGE HEER

ir. LUDWICH LÖB

Leeraar aan de R.K. H.B.S.

Echtgenoot van Mevrouw

JOHANNA VAN GELDER

in den ouderdom van 53 jaar.

Wij bevelen de ziel van den dierbaren overledene in uwe godvruchtige gebeden aan.

Bergen op Zoom:	Mevr. J. LÖB—VAN GELDER
Chimay:	Mère M. HEDWICH, O.C.R. Abdij N. D. de la Paix
Tilburg:	Pater M. IGNATIUS. O.C.R. Abdij Koningshoeve.
„	Broeder M. LINUS, O.C.R. Abdij Koningshoeve.
Chimay:	Mère M. VERONIQUE, O.C.R. Abdij N. D. de la Paix.
„	Mère M. THÉRÈSE, O.C.R. Abdij N. D. de la Paix.
Tilburg:	Pater M. NIVARDUS, O.C.R. Abdij Koningshoeve.
Bergen op Zoom:	HANS LÖB. PAULA LÖB.

H. Requiemmis Woensdag 10 April 9 uur in de Parochiekerk van den H. Jozef, waarna de begrafenis zal plaats hebben.

Algemeene kennisgeving. Geen bloemen. Bezoeken van rouwbeklag kunnen niet worden afgewacht.

Lutz's death announcement.

Lutz Löb's funeral, April 10, 1935, in Bergen op Zoom.

Final absolution given by Pastor J. A. Jooren of Saint Joseph's parish.

Jenny visiting her daughters at the monastery in Chimay.

Sr. Hedwigis.

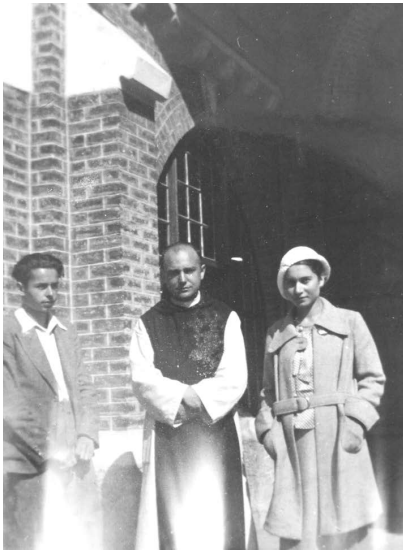
Sr. Veronica's final profession, May 12, 1935, in Chimay.

Br. Linus at work on the farm in Koningshoeven, around 1936.

Ignatius surrounded by family and acquaintances on the occasion of his ordination to the priesthood on June 6, 1936. Standing, from left to right: Hans, Paula, unknown, George Wiessing. Seated, from left to right: unknown, Eva de Man, Ignatius, Jenny, Jackie Juten.

Our Lady of Bonnecombe Abbey in France, where Igantius was from 1936 until 1939.

Monks from Koningshoeven Abbey who helped out in Our Lady of Bonnecombe Abbey during the years 1936–1939: Adolphus Weerts, Ignatius Löb, Innocentius Sijbers, Stephanus van Langen, and Odulphus Kruyssen.



Hans, Fr. Leo van Dijk, and Paula.

Deetje and Nivardus on June 4, 1939, in Koningsoord Abbey, on the occasion of Fr. Nivardus's first Mass there, following his ordination to the priesthood on June 3.

Nivardus and Ignatius on the grounds of Koningshoeven Abbey in 1939.

The community of Koningshoeven Abbey, on the occasion of the celebration of Dom Simon Dubuisson's twenty-fifth anniversary as abbot on April 29, 1938. The Löb brothers are in the third row: the ninth, the twelfth, and the fourteenth from the right.

The community of Koningsoord Abbey. In the first row, fourth from the left: Sr. Hedwigis; sixth from the left: M. Gertrudis Demarrez, abbess; eighth from the left: Sr. Theresia; ninth from the left: Sr. Veronica.

Paula in 1938.

Hans in 1937.

Voor mij is het leven Christus en het sterven een gewin. Phil. 1 : 21.

Gedenk in uwe godvruchtige gebeden de Ziel van Zaliger den WelEd. Gestr. Heer

ir. Ludwig Löb

Echtgenoot van Mevrouw

Johanna van Gelder

geboren te *Euskirchen (Pruisen)* 16 November 1881 en, gesterkt door de Genademiddelen der H. Kerk overleden te B.o.Z. den 6 April 1935.

Gods wil geschiede in leven en dood, ik onderwerp mij aan alles, wat Hij zal willen; het is mij zoet met mijn Verlosser te leven, het is mij zoet met Hem te sterven. H. Franc. Sal.

Hij heeft alles gedaan, wat God Hem te doen aanwees.

Toen sprak de Heer tot hem: treed binnen in mijne rust, want ik heb U onder het volk op den weg der gerechtigheid voor mijn aanschijn zien wandelen. Off. conf. non part.

Naar het paradijs mogen de engelen U geleiden, het koor der engelen neme U op. Rit. Rom.

Dierbare echtgenoote en kinderen: De genade van Onzen Heer Jezus Christus zij met U. Mijne liefde is met U allen in Christus Jezus Amen. I Cor. : 23.

En gij, mijn Eerw. Zonen en Dochters, weest mijner gedachtig, als gij zult staan aan het altaar des Heeren en gedenk mij in uwe kloosterlijke eenzaamheid.

Bemind zij overal het H. Hart van Jezus

R. I. P

Gedenk in uwe gebeden de Ziel van Zaliger

Mevrouw

Johanna van Gelder

Weduwe van den WelEd. Gestr. Heer

Ir. Ludwig Löb

geboren te Naarden (N.-H.) 15 Febr. 1879, overleden te Berkel (N.-Br.) 6 Sept. 1938, voorzien van de laatste H.H. Sacramenten.

Gods wil geschiede in leven en dood, ik onderwerp mij in alles, wat Hij zal willen, het is mij zoet met mijn Verlosser te leven, het is mij zoet met Hem te sterven.

Druk en benauwdheden hebben mij omgeven, maar ik ben niet moedeloos geworden.

Zij was eene moeder, vol teederheid voor hare kinderen en vol liefde tot God en de H. Maagd.

Dierbare Kinderen, vaartwel, mijn pelgrimstocht is ten einde. Gij zet den uwen voort. Bemint elkander. Bidt voor uw vader en moeder, vooral gij die God tot Zijnen dienst geroepen heeft.

Mijn Jezus, barmhartigheid.

Memorial cards for Lutz and Jenny.

Paula Löb and Harrie van Broekhoven's wedding on November 16, 1938, in Berkel-Enschot.

U. I. O. G. D.

✝

TER DANKBARE HERINNERING
aan mijne
Solemneele Professie
30 September 1931
PATER M. IGNATIUS LÖB
Cistercienser-monnik
O. L. Vr. Koningshoeven — Tilburg

God overlaadt de ziel met het hemelsche als Hij haar van al het aardsche ontlast.
(H. Bern. qui inhebr. Tat. Serm. 15.)

Eene ziel in staat God zelve te bevatten, kan niet gevuld worden door iets, wat minder is dan God.
(H. Bern, de conv. mun.)

Maria, Koningin der Barmhartigheid, bid voor ons.

✝

PAX

Ter blijde herinnering aan mijn

SOLEMNELE PROFESSIE

in de abdijkerk
van O. L. Vr. v. Koningshoeven, Tilburg.
29 September 1935.

Fr. M. NIVARDUS LÖB

Cisterciënser monnik.

Heer Jezus, Die gezegd hebt, dat wij zonder U niets vermogen, ik bid U, geef mij de genade om getrouw te volbrengen wat ik U op deze dag beloofd heb. Amen.

O Maria, zonder zonden ontvangen, bid voor ons, die onze toevlucht tot U nemen.

Memorial cards
from the solemn professions
of the three Löb monks.

Hetzij we leven, hetzij we sterven, den Heer behoren we toe. Rom. 14, 8

Gedachtenis
aan mijn
SOLEMNELE GELOFTEN
uitgesproken in de Abdij
O. L. Vr. van Koningshoeven te Tilburg

Feestdag van St. Jozef, 19 Maart 1937

Br. M. Linus Löb. O. C. R.

Gewaardig U, Heer, allen, die bijgedragen hebben tot het geluk van dezen dag, met het eeuwig leven te vergelden.

Maria, Moeder van de Cisterciënsers, sta ons bij!
Sint Jozef, Beschermer van ons verborgen leven, b. v. o.

Door de genade Gods ben ik wat ik ben: Priester in eeuwigheid.

GEDACHTENIS
aan den blijden dag
waarop Gods goedheid mij tot
het H. Priesterschap verhief
6 Juni 1936

Pater. M. Ignatius Löb
Cisterciënser Monnik

Mijn ziel prijst groot den Heer; omdat Hij groote dingen aan mij gedaan heeft.

Bidt dan mijn dierbaren, dat deze gave in mij niet ijdel weze; ook ik zal U gedenken aan 't altaar des Heeren.

O Maria, Moeder van Jezus onzen Hoogepriester, onder uwe bescherming stel ik mijn leven van Priestermonnik.

DE H. MIS IS MIJN HEMEL.
(H. Laur. v. Brindisi.)

Dankbaar aandenken aan den dag, waarop wij deelachtig werden aan

CHRISTUS' PRIESTERSCHAP
en voor het eerst zijn
HEILIG KRUISOFFER
onbloedig mochten hernieuwen.

's Bosch		Berkel
Sint Jan		Koningsoord
3 Juni	1939	4 Juni

fr. M. Amedeus v. Iersel
fr. M. Nivardus Löb

Eucharistisch Hart van Jezus, voorbeeld van een Priesterhart, maak ons hart gelijkvormig aan het Uwe.
Onbevlekte Moeder van den eeuwigen Hoogepriester, vorm ons naar het voorbeeld van Uw Zoon Jezus, den Gekruiste, en zegen allen, die ons weldeden.

Memorial cards from the ordinations of Fr. Ignatius and Fr. Nivardus.

5

THREAT OF WAR: FAR AWAY AND CLOSE AT HOME

1938–1945

Tilburg, August 2, 1942
Your Excellency,
With regard to yesterday morning's telephone conversation,
We are sending this list with the names of the Jewish members of
Our monastery and the monastery of Koningsoord in Berkel,
who were summoned by the Armed Forces last Sunday morning:
(Fr. Ignatius) George Löb (priest);
(Fr. Nivardus) Ernst Löb (priest);
(Br. Linus) Robert Löb;
(Sr. Hedwigis) Lien Löb;
(Sr. Theresia) Dora Löb.
In addition, when they were leaving,
We authorized Fr. Ignatius Löb, on Your Excellency's behalf,
to hear the confessions of both of his sisters,
presuming that Your Excellency would have granted this faculty
to the above-mentioned Father Ignatius at Our request,
which We now present to Your Excellency with this letter.
Therefore, we beseech Your Excellency to notify Us
if, for any reason, Your Excellency does not extend this confessional jurisdiction.
In the meantime, We remain
Your Excellency's humble servant in Christ,
(was signed) Brother Simon Dubuisson, Abbot.

With this letter from the abbot[1] to the coadjutor bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch, Msgr. W. P. A. M. Mutsaerts,[2] we find ourselves in the midst of the war and the accompanying persecution of the Jews which led to massive deportations to concentration camps and extermination camps in Eastern Europe in the middle of 1942. Three brothers and two sisters of the Löb family, all of whom were residing in monasteries, were picked up and deported. Why did that happen? What was the role of the abbot and the abbess? What was the telephone conversation in the middle of the night between Dom Simon and the bishop all about? How did the other monks and nuns react to these arrests? What happened to those who were arrested, and to the other members of the Löb family?[3] Why was Sr. Veronica not taken on August 2? What happened to her? The other members of their family were also of Jewish descent: how did they fare during these war times?

1. Jewish Persecution in Germany

Wilhelm Spiegel's political murder in 1933 had confronted members of the Loeb family with the real nature of the rising National Socialism and its expressions of hate for the Jews.[4] In the Nether-

1. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Trappists, box 483.

2. In May 1942, W. P. A. M. Mutsaerts (1889–1964) was named coadjutor bishop (assistant bishop) with right of succession to Msgr. A. F. Diepen. He became resident bishop in 1943, which he remained until 1960. See *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* [Biographical Dictionary of the Netherlands], vol. 1 (The Hague, 1979).

3. Regarding the further fortunes of Deetje, we can be quite brief: she remained in the monastic boarding school run by the Franciscan sisters in Oisterwijk for the entire duration of the war.

4. Cf. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait]. Thea Herzberg-Loeb had apparently sensed the approaching threat of danger for her brother-in-law Wilhelm, as is witnessed by her reaction when she heard about his murder: stamping her foot, she said, "I told him so," according to the address given by her daughter,

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lands, people did know about the German political tensions in general, but few realized that they would lead to a massive persecution of the Jews. Most Dutch citizens connected Hitler's rise to power with the economic malaise in Germany, and with clashes between democratic and totalitarian political movements.[5] The situation in the Netherlands was not comparable. However, after the murder of their brother-in-law, Jenny and Lutz, in their correspondence with their children, did make it quite explicit that they were concerned about the way things were developing.

By then, the members of Lutz's family who were living in Germany were also becoming increasingly concerned. Alex Paradies and Johanna Loeb, who were living in Frankfurt, became victims of the economic boycott of Jews and the confiscation of their property. They fled the increasing threats by moving to the Netherlands. Ernst Loeb's sons, Leo and Norbert, who were working in Germany, wanted to emigrate, either to the United States or to England, but they had to remain in the Netherlands since these other countries were not willing to grant them entrance. The great numbers of both Orthodox and liberal Jewish immigrants flocking to the Netherlands gave rise to tensions both within and without the Jewish community. The fact that the Dutch Jewish communities themselves had to make all the arrangements for organizing the assistance offered to this stream of refugees only increased the tensions. Lutz's sister Thea and her husband, Abel Herzberg, were actively involved with these assistance measures: with Jewish funding, they built a camp in Westerbork,

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Judith Herzberg, at the memorial service for her mother, Thea, on August 1, 1991. Documentation, Paradies.

5. Cf. S. Friedländer, *Nazi-Duitsland en de joden. Deel 1. De jaren van vervolging, 1933–1939* [Nazi Germany and the Jews: volume 1: The years of persecution, 1933–1939] (Utrecht, 1998); B. Rogasky, *Rook en As. Het verhaal van de holocaust* [Smoke and Ashes: The Story of the Holocaust] (Groningen, 2002); J. Bacon, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jewish Civilization. 3000 Years of History* (New York, 1998), especially 124ff.

near Assen, for the temporary assistance of several hundred families.[6] Families were also housed and cared for in other areas of the country.

The Nuremberg Laws, introduced in Germany in 1935, degraded resident Jews to second-class citizens, as compared to Aryans, who were regarded as being superior. Racial criteria were used to determine who should be regarded as a Jew, a half-Jew, or a quarter-Jew. This anti-Jewish agitation became increasingly more brutal: grounds were sought, and found, to destroy Jewish businesses and homes. During the violent outburst on November 9–10, 1938, later referred to as "Kristallnacht," or the "Night of Broken Glass," many synagogues as well as Jewish schools and stores were set afire.

The situation was becoming increasingly more threatening outside Germany as well. In September 1939, following the annexation of Austria and the occupation of parts of Czechoslovakia, Poland was overridden and occupied as well. Brute force was used against the extensive Jewish population of that country: the Jews were confined to ghettos and required to wear the yellow Star of David in such a way that it would be visible on their clothing.

The German invasion of Poland was sufficient reason for France and England to declare war on Germany. Dom Simon was afraid that the violence would quickly spread to France as well, where a small group of Dutch monks were living with the French Trappists of Bonnecombe Abbey, as temporary reinforcements. He decided to call these monks back to Koningshoeven, one of whom was Fr. Ignatius.

2. War and Jewish Persecution in the Netherlands

On May 10, 1940, German troops invaded the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. The drone of the airplanes flying over Tilburg

6. Camp Westerbork. *Voorportaal van de vernietiging* [Vestibule to Extermination], brochure for the Memorial Center Camp Westerbork, Stichting IVIO [Foundation: Institute for Individual Development], 1991, and the bibliography included in this brochure.

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was quite audible in the monasteries. In Koningshoeven, a number of windows were broken due to the sudden change in air pressure following the explosions. A few days later the Netherlands capitulated in order to avoid any further destruction, such as Rotterdam had experienced, and then life in the Netherlands went back to normal.[7] The occupying forces tried to convince the Dutch that, since they were related to the German people, they had nothing to fear by submitting to the new situation. Hitler appointed Seyss-Inquart as Reich Commissioner for the civil administration of the Netherlands, while leaving many lower governmental positions in the hands of Dutch citizens.[8] Members of the NSB [The National Socialist Movement in the Netherlands] were active in many areas, though, propagating their ideas and beliefs, and persons from their ranks were appointed mayor in several cities.[9]

At the beginning of the war, the monks in Koningshoeven received information daily via newspaper clippings selected by Dom

7. See Chris van der Heijden, *Grijs verleden. Nederland en de Tweede Wereldoorlog* [A Gray Past: The Netherlands and World War II], 9th ed. (Amsterdam/Antwerpen, 2008). This author makes subtle distinctions regarding how the war can be viewed, pointing out many gray areas between the black and white portrayals found notably in L. de Jong's multivolume standard work, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* [The Kingdom of the Netherlands during World War II]. According to Van der Heijden, it was not always easy to distinguish the thin line between compliance, collaboration, and incidental resistance or resistance in principle. He always makes it clear that it was relatively calm in the Netherlands during the initial war years.

8. See the schematic diagram of German administration in the Netherlands in B. de Munnick, *Uitverkoren in uitzondering? Het verhaal van de Joodse "Barneveld-groep" 1942–1945* [Chosen as an Exception? The story of the Jewish "Barneveld Group," 1942–1945] (Barneveld, 1992), 68.

9. See P. Tammes, "Nederlandse burgemeesters en de vervolging van joden" [Dutch Mayors and Jewish Persecution], in H. Flap and M. Croes, eds., *Wat toeval leek te zijn, maar niet was. De organisatie van de jodenvervolging in Nederland* [What Seemed to be a Coincidence, but Which Was Not: The Organization of Jewish Persecution in the Netherlands] (Amsterdam, 2001), 69–94.

Simon, who also mentioned the war situation in his chapter talks. This was quite extraordinary: previously the monks had only occasionally heard anything about what was happening outside the monastery walls.[10] Immediately following the German invasion, Dom Simon had already requested that all incriminating documents be destroyed, without however giving any precise indication as to which documents he was referring. It is not really clear why he did this. Was he afraid that the monastery might be searched, and that they had to avoid any chance of the Germans finding anything that might endanger the abbey and the community? Or did he want to avoid the possibility of German members of the community being tracked down and called up for military service, as had happened in several other monasteries? The abbey's chronicles provide no answer to these questions.

At first the community was also concerned about the sisters and their situation, certainly when, a few days later, a neighboring farmer spread the rumor (which later turned out to be false) that no stone was left on top of another in Berkel-Enschot. The abbot did not dare go and see for himself how things stood though: he was Belgian, so he could be regarded as an enemy. For that matter, it would have been too tiring for him to walk that far. Besides being a diabetic, he had had a stroke in 1938, and the aftereffects continued to bother him. It never occurred to him to send someone else to Berkel-Enschot to check on things.

After the first few days of war, things calmed down and ordinary life was resumed within the monasteries, as far as possible. As war conditions continued, problems did arise. The occupying forces

10. Akh, Athanasius Erhart, *Oorlogskroniek abdij Koningshoeven 1940–1945* [Koningshoeven Abbey War Chronicles, 1940–1945], dedicated to the chronicler Fr. Nicolaus Rose. Fr. Erhart wrote up these descriptions after the war was over, which had a noticeable influence on both his selection of events and his point of view. Erhart had been born in Germany and had a certain sympathy for his fatherland.

demanded supplies, vehicles, and animals, which certainly had consequences for the monastery's farm. In 1940 the harvest was poor, so the food supply was a problem. Within the monastery, they began to refer to it as the "great fast." At the beginning of 1941, it had become serious enough for the abbot to declare bread rationing. Blackouts were another problem, especially with the windows in the church. Then there was the uncertainty as to whether the community would even be able to remain in the monastery. The buildings belonging to several monasteries and institutions in the surrounding area were taken over by the occupying forces during the course of the war. Dom Simon had to report to the city commandant in Tilburg on a regular basis and, depending on the movements of the German military, there was sometimes forced billeting of troops. In August 1941, ninety-five soldiers with their supplies were being accommodated between the two monasteries. The monasteries, however, were furnished quite soberly and had no central heating, so the Germans usually preferred to seek suitable lodgings elsewhere.[11]

The presence of German-born monks within the community led to light tensions every now and then in Koningshoeven, but things never escalated any further. Lilbosch Abbey, the Trappist monastery in Echt, was not so fortunate. In October 1942, their property was seized and the monks had to be evacuated.

The sisters in Koningsoord were also afraid that they would have to abandon their monastery due to its being taken over by occupying forces, but things never went that far. Due to war conditions, though, the procedure for electing an abbess and transferring the stability of the sisters was delayed. Msgr. Diepen, acting on an indult from Rome, had appointed Sr. Gertrudis Demarrez abbess when the monastery was founded, but it was not until September 5, 1940, that

11. Akh, Athanasius Erhart, *Oorlogskroniek* [War Chronicles]; Fr. Puls, Twee kerkdorpen en een gehucht in Oorlog [Two church villages and a hamlet during the War], *De Nieuwe Schakel* [The New Connection], nos. 39–42 (October 1984).

she could be elected abbess by the members of the community who had the right to vote.[12]

Outside the more or less safe enclosure of the monasteries, the war did constitute a much greater disruption of daily life, especially for Dutch Jews. During the first days and weeks of the war, an atmosphere of panic ruled within Jewish circles. They knew of the terrors and horrors taking place in Germany and Poland, and, driven to despair, a number of them decided to take their own lives.[13] Fear and anxiety also played a role in Esther Wiener's suicide. She was Ernst Loeb's wife and had been depressed and mentally unstable for a long time. Her brother, Eduard Wiener, also committed suicide, along with his wife and their youngest son.[14]

The old and sickly Nathan Loeb did not have to endure the worst atrocities of the war with its Jewish persecution. Broken by the death of his children, Lutz and Emma in 1935, and of his daughters-in-law, Jenny in 1938 and Esther and Marianne[15] in 1940, he himself died on December 10, 1940, at 86 years of age. He had been in poor health for many years, frequently visiting health resorts, undergoing all kinds of treatments, and suffering from severe rheumatism during the last years of his life. He was buried in the Jewish cemetery in The Hague, with his headstone being set in place a year later, in accordance with Jewish ritual. On this latter occasion, the rabbi praised Nathan's contributions to the administration of the Jewish community and to various charitable organizations. The service had the character of a family reunion where joy prevailed, which was a bit bewildering for Hans Löb, who was attending as a pious

12. Van Buuren, *Cisterciënzer abdij O.L. Vrouw van Koningsoord* [Cistercian Abbey, Our Lady of Koningsoord].

13. Herzberg, *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging* [Chronicles of the Jewish Persecution], 11, statistics.

14. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 124.

15. The death of Paul Loeb's wife, Marianne Konijn, on October 4, 1940, in The Hague had nothing to do with the war. She died of breast cancer.

Roman Catholic, unfamiliar with the ritual which was unfolding before his eyes. He equated religion with sobriety and earnestness and had expected a reserved sorrow during the service. He did not understand the cheerfulness and good spirits of the various Jewish members of the family, who regarded it as a pleasant reunion during tension-filled times. Neither did he understand why only the rabbi uttered the ritual prayers and texts, and that those present were not expected to reply in any way, as was customary in Roman Catholic services.[16]

Ever so gradually, and with calculated steps, the occupying forces in the Netherlands wove a network of snares designed to concentrate and isolate the Jewish population, and eventually to deport it.[17] Seyss-Inquart consciously chose to work in phases, sometimes against the wishes of some of the more fanatical Germans. This assured that he remained in control, while others took care of implementation.[18]

On January 10, 1941, the occupying forces decreed that everyone whose parents and grandparents were full-blooded Jews, according to the prescriptions set down in the Nuremberg Laws, had to be registered. This decree was carried out all over the Netherlands, without the slightest bit of trouble, by (Dutch) civil service officials, who then issued a "proof of registration" for a fee of one Dutch guilder. The members of the Löb family who were in the monasteries, as well as Hans Löb,[19] complied with this decree without any hesitation, and received their "proof of registration" as full-blooded

16. Ako file 430, letter, Hans Löb to his brothers in Koningshoeven, Monster, May 7, 1941.

17. See J. Boas, "De misleidingstactieken van de nazi's bij de liquidatie van de Europese joden," *Vijfde Jaarboek van het Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* ["The Nazis' misleading tactics for liquidating European Jews" in the Fifth Annual Journal of the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation], 1994.

18. Flap and Croes, *Wat toeval leek te zijn, maar niet was* [What seemed to be coincidence, but which wasn't], 23–24.

19. He was then living in Monster, near The Hague, according to the declaration issued by the mayor on February 19, 1942. Ako file 443.

Jews. Paula van Broekhoven-Löb did fill out the registration form but, at the advice of Mayor Van der Heijden of Drunen and Van de Lokkant, the municipal secretary,[20] she indicated that she was unable to determine whether her parents and grandparents were full-blooded Jews or not.[21]

In February 1941, the Germans established a Jewish Council for the purpose (as they put it) of advocating the interests of Jews in the Netherlands. The national council had regional branches with numerous employees, including several members of the Loeb family.[22] In March of that same year, a branch of the Central Office of Jewish Emigration was opened in Amsterdam. The Germans wanted to give the impression that they were encouraging Jews to emigrate, but it was really a center for organizing call-ups and deportations, where Jews were asked to report.

After the required registration, steps were taken to deny Jews their rights and to exclude them from society. One such decree was that

20. Letter from Mayor Van der Heijden to H. van Broekhoven, Drunen, May 21, 1941, in response to the registration form which Paula had submitted. In this letter he relates that the Chief Inspector of the Census Records had informed him that they did not know how to classify Paula. Paula is required to research her ancestry. If that does not yield any results, she can request a decision from Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart. Harrie does the latter in a letter dated September 18, 1941, addressed to "Mr. Imperial Minister, Reich Commissioner Dr. Seyss-Inquart in The Hague." Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb.

21. Registration form, Drunen, June 4, 1942, documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb.

22. After the war, Abel Herzberg tried to judge the Jewish Council and its leaders, Asser and Cohen, from the standpoint of the then prevailing attitudes and relationships, and he came to a mild decision. See Herzberg, *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging* [Chronicles of the Jewish Persecution]. Other authors were more negative in their judgment, saying that the Jewish Council and its leaders were a naïve elite. Cf. Van der Heijden, *Grijs verleden* [A Gray Past], 212–20 and 402–3, where he gives a nuanced image of the position of the Jewish Council and how it functioned.

non-Aryan children had to be removed from confessional schools. Archbishop De Jong protested on behalf of the Dutch bishops, repeating their condemnation of racial discrimination in principle, which they had promulgated even before the war began. This was a good reason for Eva de Man, Jenny Löb-van Gelder's good friend, to ask the bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch what she should do about her children, since they were, after all, baptized Catholics.[23]

It was also decreed that Jews could no longer hold any positions in the government. This decree made Harrie van Broekhoven worry about encountering problems, or even losing his job as a teacher in Drunen, because of his marriage to the Jewish Paula Löb (even though, as we have already seen, she was not registered as a full-blooded Jew). However, it was not until 1943 that German authorities promulgated a provision regarding the retirement of government officials with a Jewish spouse.[24]

During the Wannsee Conference in January 1942, a number of senior Nazi officials announced the "Final solution to the Jewish question," which resulted in a systematic eradication of all Jews in German-occupied territories by means of extermination camps. A system of deportations and train transports to various concentration camps was set up on an assembly-line model and quickly expanded.[25] In the Netherlands, large-scale deportations began several months later, in July 1942.

23. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, War Archives, Box 3: Catholic Jews. Eva was referred to Attorney F. Teulings. The answer she received is not known.

24. Letter, Department of Domestic Affairs, no. 939/r, The Hague, March 1, 1943. Copy in Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb.

25. W. Benz, *Der Holocaust*, 4th ed. (Munich, 1999). Recent research on the Holocaust reveals that a complex network of factors led to the development of what ultimately became an almost industrial extermination machine, which in turn makes it clear that there was no elaborate plan worked out during the Wannsee Conference, which only had to be implemented later.

In the meantime, all Dutch citizens had been issued a personal identification card, which they could be required to produce at any given moment. In January 1942, a large "J" was stamped on the identification cards of all Jews. The next step in this process of stigmatization was the introduction of the Star of David, which had to be worn on the outer garments of all Jews. Beginning in May 1942, these yellow stars could be purchased at branch offices of the Jewish Council for four cents plus one-half of a textile ration point. Hans Löb refused to wear the yellow Star of David and went underground. Paula did not wear the yellow star either, even though she had received notice in November 1941 that she should be considered a "full Jew."[26] The members of the Löb family who were residing in the monasteries did buy the star, but the sisters living within the enclosure did not wear them. One of the younger monks later related that Fr. Nivardus did wear the yellow star when he was outside the enclosure working in the fields. Fr. Edwin Peters, who was a novice at the time, remembered Fr. Nivardus wearing the Star of David when he and several other monks were doing vegetable work on August 1, 1942, and that he was ridiculing it.[27]

26. Letter, Department of Domestic Affairs, November 20, 1941, addressed to H. van Broekhoven in Drunen, in Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb.

27. In a letter to Benedicta Maria Kempner, dated October 9, 1961, Fr. Edwin Peters wrote of a number of complications concerning the deported monks. During the war, Peters was a Trappist in Koningshoeven, but after the war he transferred to the Carmelite monastery of Saint Joseph the Worker in Essen for health reasons. Peters did not hide his admiration of Fr. Nivardus, who had been his sub-novice master at the time. Robert Kempner quotes from this letter without any reservations in his documentation of some of the postwar trials held in Munich: R. Kempner, *Edith Stein und Anne Frank. Zwei von Hunderttausend. Die Enthüllungen überdie NS-Verbrechen in Holland vor dem Schwurgericht in München* [Edith Stein and Anne Frank. Two out of a hundred thousand. Disclosures of Nazi Crimes in the Netherlands, to the jury in Munich] (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1968), 119–120.

Even before the war began, the churches had reacted disapprovingly toward National Socialist ideology and the theory of racial superiority. Leaders of the Protestant churches, along with those of the Roman Catholic Church, had formed an inter-church conference at the beginning of the war in order to be able to present a united front against the occupying forces.[28] Among the bishops, Archbishop Jan de Jong took the initiative and chose to come out against depriving Jews of their rights as a matter of principle, whether they were Catholics or not. However, he didn't have the support of all the bishops. In March 1942, De Jong issued an admonition to Catholic organizations, asking them not to hang up the signs: "Forbidden for Jews."[29] Within their general opposition of racial discrimination as a matter of principle, baptized Jews did receive special attention: Attorney F. Teulings of Vught was appointed by the Catholic Church to advocate for the interests of Catholic Jews in the Jewish Council;[30] Protestant Jews had similar advocates for their interests. Teulings, however, was able to fulfill his task for only a short while. He was arrested on July 13, 1942, because of his work, and when he was released a short while later, he decided to resign from this work for Catholic Jews.[31] Teulings was briefly involved with

28. J. Snoek, *De Nederlandse kerken en de Joden, 1940–1945* [The Dutch Churches and the Jews, 1940–1945] (Kampen, 1990). There were sharp divisions among the Christian Churches in those days, and it took a while before the Roman Catholic Church joined the Assembly of Churches, the name of the Conference of Protestant Churches up until that time. The bishops could not agree among themselves as to a course of action: Archbishop De Jong supported taking a position as a matter of principle, but some of the other bishops were more practical and careful, trying to protect their own interests.

29. J. Snoek, "De bisschoppen en de bordjes 'Verboden voor joden'" [The Bishops and the Signs: 'Forbidden for Jews'], *Jaarboek van het Katholiek Documentatie Centrum* [Annals of the Catholic Documentation Center], 20 (1990): 143–60.

30. For correspondence concerning this, see the archives of Mayor K. L. H. van der Putt in the Eindhoven District Archives.

31. Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], 484.

Eva de Man's concerns regarding her children who were enrolled in Catholic schools.[32] Shortly thereafter, Attorney L. Minderop of Vught was appointed to replace him.[33]

From the very beginning, the Christian churches had done their best to protect baptized Jews from deportation. Their efforts led to an announcement by the occupying forces on July 14, 1942, saying that all Jews who could prove that they had been baptized before January 1, 1941, would be exempt from deportation. Many clung to this promise, and this was true not only for baptized Jews: a great many false baptismal certificates were also issued. Behind the scenes of this announcement lay a power play between F. Schmidt, a top official within the NSDAP, and H. Rauter, Higher SS and Police Leader, regarding who had the say in call-ups, imprisonments, and deportations.[34] At the time, this conflict played into the churches' hands and gave baptized Jews the feeling that they were safe, at least for the moment. A few days later, during a private meeting with his top officials, Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart explained that he was not planning on exempting baptized Jews from deportation for good—he had agreed to it only in order to put down the churches' protest and to silence them regarding Jewish persecution.[35]

32. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, War Archives, Box 3: Catholic Jews, letters dated July 3, 5, and 13, 1942.

33. Attorney Louis E. A. Minderop, born in Rotterdam on January 7, 1901, was the director of a bank in Vught from 1938 through 1945. He then became director of the Dutch Credit Bank in The Hague, where he died on August 1, 1980.

34. Cf. Herzberg, *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging* [Chronicles of the Jewish Persecution], 104, concerning the positions of both of these men and their conflict. Cf. also De Munnick, *Uitverkoren in uitzondering* [Chosen as an Exception], 12–13.

35. Snoek, *De Nederlandse kerken en de Joden, 1940–1945* [The Dutch Churches and the Jews, 1940–1945], 92. See also Kempner, *Edith Stein und Anne Frank*, 86.

In the meantime, several raids had already taken place, with many Jews being transported to Camp Westerbork, which was then being used by the Germans as a holding camp for deportations to the East. The first deportation of Dutch Jews from Westerbork to the concentration camp in Auschwitz occurred on July 15, 1942.

Since it had become known in the meantime that Westerbork was functioning as a holding camp, the leaders of the churches sent a telegram to Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart on Saturday, July 11, 1942, sharply protesting the deportation of Jews to the East:

> The below-mentioned Dutch Churches, already deeply shocked by the measures taken against the Jews in the Netherlands, excluding them from participation in normal civic life, have learned, to their dismay, of a new ordinance which will transport men, women, children, and entire families to the German Empire and its dependencies.
>
> The suffering which this will bring to tens of thousands of persons, the knowledge that these measures are in conflict with the Dutch people's deepest moral sense and, above all, the encroachment which these measures make on the divine demand for mercy and justice, impel the Churches to direct an urgent plea to you [Seyss-Inquart (Hans Evers and Peter Steffen)] that these measures not be carried out.
>
> In addition, this urgent plea is motivated by the consideration that, for Jews who are also Christians, these measures will cut them off from participation in the life of the Church.[36]

On July 20, the Inter-Church Conference prepared a pulpit announcement that included the protest telegram addressed to Seyss-Inquart in its entirety, with the intention that it be read aloud in all

36. Mag. Dr. S. Stokman, *Het verzet van de Nederlandsche Bisschoppen tegen Nationaal-Socialisme en Duitsche tyrannie* [The Opposition of the Dutch Bishops to National Socialism and German Tyranny] (Utrecht, 1945), 249–51.

the churches the following Sunday. This was completely unacceptable to the occupying forces. They used the letter and the telegram as a means of breaking the churches' united front and sowing division, putting pressure on the churches not to make the telegram public. The Dutch Reformed Synod decided to give in to the demands of the occupying forces not to read the protest, and especially the telegram, aloud. The Reformed Churches in the Netherlands, as well as the Catholic Church, decided to maintain an attitude of resistance as a matter of principle, and to have the letter, including the offensive protest telegram, read aloud, which was done on Sunday morning, July 26. The superiors of the monasteries also received the pulpit announcement: in Koningshoeven Abbey, the letter was read aloud by Fr. Leo van Dijk during chapter that day;[37] it was probably not read aloud in Koningsoord Abbey.[38] The monks were not entirely ignorant of what was going on in society. They knew of the successive measures which were being taken against the Jews—the abbot made sure of that. He also posted newspaper clippings so the monks would be up to date on the course of the war. Some of the brothers were also certainly listening to radio broadcasts without the abbot's knowledge. Toward the end of the war, the abbot placed the radio in the middle of the chapter room during chapter so the whole community was aware of the approaching front.[39] The nuns probably had much less information available about what was going on outside the walls of their monastery.

37. Fr. Hieronymus Toschke, *Huiskroniek Abdij Koningshoeven* [House Chronicles of Koningshoeven Abbey] for August 3, 1941, through December 8, 1942. Akh, Huiskroniek 3/16. This Chronicle was revised after the war. It is quite noticeable that knowledge acquired after the war was added to the accounts of happenings which were written during the war.

38. According to Sr. Laurentia Delfgaauw, interview in Nuland, April 3, 2000.

39. Mentioned in the *Huiskronieken* [House Chronicles] by Fr. Toschke and Fr. Erhart.

The day after the reading of the pulpit announcement, during a special consultation with Dr. Harster (head of the *Sicherheitspolizei* [Security Police] and the SD [Nazi Security Service] in The Hague) and others, Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart decided on a harsh reaction to the churches' protest. On July 30, 1942, Harster listed the decisions made during this consultation, entitling them "Evacuation of Jews who are baptized Christians."[40] This reversed the decision of July 14, 1942.

On Sunday, August 2, General Commissioner F. Schmidt delivered speeches at meetings of National Socialists in Waubach and elsewhere,[41] referring to the bishops' letter that had been read aloud a week earlier, and giving his own view of the state of affairs. The telegram that had been sent to Seyss-Inquart would have been confidential, so it was inappropriate to make it public. By doing so, the bishops had disrupted negotiations, forcing the Germans to view Catholic Jews as their worst enemies, who now had to be deported to work camps in the East as soon as possible.[42] This meant that the Germans would begin to handle Catholic Jews differently from Jews who were baptized Protestants, placing the coalition of the churches under pressure. In September of that year, Rauter could report to his boss Himmler that they had succeeded in dividing the united front of church resistance.[43]

40. Kempner, *Edith Stein und Anne Frank*, 91. For a copy of the list of decisions made during Seyss-Inquart's special consultation with his General Commissioners on July 27, 1942, see Mohr and Prégardier, *Passion im August*, 43.

41. *Dagblad De Tijd* [The Times Daily Newspaper], August 3, 1942, offered a copy of this speech. Cf. Kempner, *Edith Stein und Anne Frank*, 92–94.

42. J. Snoek, "De bisschoppen en de bordjes 'Verboden voor joden'" [The Bishops and the Signs: "Forbidden for Jews"], 155.

43. *Dokumenten van de Jodenvervolging in Nederland 1940–1945* [Documents of the Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands, 1940–1945], Amsterdam, 1979. See also a copy of this letter dated September 24, 1942, in Mohr and Prégardier, *Passion im August*, 17–19.

3. The Consequences of the Pulpit Announcement for the Monks and Nuns in the Löb Family

As already mentioned, the occupying forces used the pulpit announcement as a means of sowing division among the various churches. This announcement also functioned as legitimization after the fact for actions aimed specifically against Catholic Jews. The Germans suggested that their own conduct was a necessary retaliation, resulting from the fact that the Dutch bishops, with Archbishop De Jong speaking on their behalf, had disregarded agreements that had been made. By using what appeared to be random behavior aimed at different groups within the Jewish population, the occupying forces played one group against another, increasing feelings of uncertainty and insecurity. The consequences of the pulpit announcement and the German retaliation differed for the various members of the Löb family. In this section, we will describe the consequences for those in residence in the monasteries, with the exception of Sr. Veronica. We will also devote some attention to reactions to these happenings, both within and without the monasteries.

3.1 The Arrest, Deportation, and Death of Ignatius, Nivardus, Linus, Hedwigis, and Theresia

Early in the morning of Sunday, August 2, 1942, Catholic Jews throughout the Netherlands were arrested. According to lists in the archives of the Archdiocese of Utrecht, there were 758 Catholic Jews in the Netherlands at that moment who had either Dutch or German citizenship.[44] This registration was probably incomplete; one may presume that many more Catholic Jews were actually living in the Netherlands. A number of those arrested were taken to Camp Amersfoort, where a further selection took place. Some were released, including those in mixed marriages; others were transported to Camp Westerbork, along with other Jews who had been picked

44. Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], 502.

up during raids. From Westerbork, a group of 114 Catholic Jews were deported to extermination camps where they all died.[45] This was the fate of Ignatius, Nivardus, Linus, Hedwigis, and Theresia.

Even though all the Löb brothers and sisters who were Trappists and Trappistines had presented themselves to the authorities and were registered as Jews, they regarded themselves primarily as Catholics. In Koningsoord Abbey, the other sisters did not even know the Löb sisters were of Jewish descent. The abbess only shared that information with the community on August 3, 1942.[46] In Koningshoeven a few of the brothers did know that the Löb boys were Jewish. Since the monks had more access to information about the world outside the monastery, they also knew that Jews were being picked up. During the summer of 1942, the air was abuzz with rumors of mass murders of Jews in the East—there was certainly a great deal of anxiety within the Jewish community. From the messages they had received from the bishop, the abbot and the abbess probably assumed that baptized Jews would not be deported. Perhaps they also believed that the Germans would not even bother members of religious congregations at all. In any event, they did not take any

45. A. van der Leeuw, *Die Deportation der Römisch-Katholischen Juden aus der Niederlanden im Monat August 1942* [The Deportation of Roman Catholic Jews from the Netherlands during the month of August 1942], Archives, NIOD [Netherlands Institute for War Documentation], Amsterdam; Snoek, *De Nederlandse kerken en de Joden* [The Dutch Churches and the Jews]. Snoek counts 92 Catholic Jews being deported as a group from Westerbork. It is not clear why his total numbers 22 fewer persons.

46. According to Sr. Laurentia Delfgaauw, interview, April 3, 2000; also according to the memory of the Dutch abbess of Maria Frieden Abbey in *Katholieke Illustratie* [Catholic Illustrated], August 16, 1958. According to Fr. Erhart, *Oorlogskroniek abdij Koningshoeven* [Koningshoeven Abbey War Chronicles], it was made known during chapter in July 1942 that Jews who had been baptized before January 1, 1941, would be exempt from deportation to Silesia. The monks would have responded with the comment that they fully expected that their fellow monks who were Jewish would be safe.

special precautions to protect the members of their communities. Whether they were too naïve in this respect is a judgment which can be based only on knowledge after the fact.

In any case, this is what happened: on Sunday morning, August 2, 1942, around 3:30 a.m., several policemen from Tilburg rang the bell at the gate of Koningsoord Abbey. They had orders to arrest four persons: namely, the three Löb sisters, Lien, Door, and Wies, and the Polish-German doctor, Lisamaria Meirowsky, who had sought refuge with the Trappistines in August 1940.[47]

The policemen were using the bus which belonged to Koningshoeven's brewery—some time before, the Germans had ordered the Tilburg police to confiscate it.[48] At first, the sister who was portress suspected nothing, since she probably didn't know the bus had been confiscated.

Sr. Cecilia Drabbe,[49] who was the infirmarian at that time, was awakened between 4:00 a.m. and 4:30 a.m. She noticed that Sr.

47. Lisamaria Meirowsky was also a baptized Jew, who had been born on September 7, 1909, in Graudens. She was a member of the Third Order of Saint Dominic and wanted to found a monastery of Dominican sisters in Germany. During the 1930s she had fled Germany and lived for a few years in Utrecht. On August 14, 1940, she sought refuge with the Trappistines. The local authorities knew of this. She lived in the guest house and worked as portress and doctor. Fr. M. Frehe, OP, was her confessor and spiritual director in the Netherlands.

48. Akh, a bill from Firma H. J. de Groot, Tilburg, June 1940, for a Chevrolet Truck chassis which the monastery bought for the beer brewery, trading in the old Citroën bus. In addition, a letter from the monastery, dated August 10, 1945, addressed to the Tilburg Police Inspector, reporting the "almost completely new bus" which the Tilburg police had "demanded to borrow/rent" in 1941; and a report made to the Commissariaat Generaal voor de Nederlandsche Economische Belangen [Commissioner General for Dutch Economic Interests] (for the recovery of or reparation for stolen goods), dated August 31, 1945, which indicated that the bus had six seats, in addition to the driver.

49. Interview with Sr. Cecilia Drabbe, by the authors, Nuland, April 3, 2000.

Veronica (Wies) Löb was not in the infirmary, where she had been staying for a while. A few minutes later, she saw Sr. Hedwigis and Sr. Theresia arriving. They had just received communion from the chaplain, Fr. Bavo van Ham, there by the infirmary rooms. They were not given any time to listen to a few words of encouragement from the chaplain, or to say goodbye properly. They were able to pick up a few things they might need (according to a list which the policemen had given them), and then they had to hurry to the guesthouse of the monastery, where the police were waiting for them. They went down the stairs leading to the presbytery[50] of the church, and then left the enclosure. Their leaving occurred so quickly that most of the other sisters barely noticed what had happened.[51]

Due to the fact that the portress or guest sister had been able to warn the abbess in time, she had had a chance to make the decision not to allow the sickly Sr. Veronica to go with them. Exactly what happened is not really very clear. Perhaps she was able to convince the police that they really could not take her at that time. It is also possible, though, that the abbess had taken Sr. Veronica to her own office for safety. In any case, there was an air of secrecy; otherwise, Sr. Veronica would have been able to remain peacefully in her room in the infirmary. The policemen did not search the premises; they remained at the gatehouse, waiting. The occupying forces usually did leave the arrests to the Dutch police, which gave them the appearance of being legal.

Hedwigis, Theresia, and Lisamaria were taken by bus from Koningsoord to Koningshoeven. All together, there was only about one hour between the time the police arrived at Koningsoord and their arrival at Koningshoeven.

50. Presbytery: the part of a church reserved for the officiating clergy, around the altar.

51. The cloistered sisters had noticed so little of what had happened that night that, after the war was over, the abbess asked several extern sisters to write up an account of what they had experienced during the war. See Ako file 486.

Around 3:30 a.m., the Tilburg police also appeared at the gate of Koningshoeven Abbey, this time with a police van.[52] They had come for the three Löb brothers: Ignatius, Nivardus, and Linus. At that particular moment, all the monks were gathered together in the monastic church for the office of Matins, which lasted from 3:00 a.m. until about 3:45 a.m. Since the whole community was there praying together, everyone knew immediately what was going on. After the porter had notified the abbot, the Löb brothers were simply taken out of choir. Cyprianus van den Bogaard had just enough time to make a few signs to Ignatius, who was standing next to him in choir, to encourage him and bid him goodbye.[53]

After the brothers had gathered some clothing together, there was still a bit of time, since they had to wait for the arrival of the sisters from Koningsoord. Fr. Ignatius and Fr. Nivardus both received permission to celebrate Mass, which took about a half hour at the most in those days. In the meantime, the abbot was telephoning the bishop's residence in 's-Hertogenbosch. It must have been about 4:00 a.m. when he was able to reach coadjutor bishop Mutsaerts to discuss with him what he should do. He was advised to hand over the monks

52. Fr. Toschke, *Huiskroniek* [House Chronicles], noted that it was 4:30 a.m. when he and several other monks went to pack the things that their Jewish brother monks would need. According to him, "polizist Brinkman" [German for "Policeman Brinkman"] transported the prisoners to Tilburg, and then on to 's-Hertogenbosch. The Tilburg police log for that day was also signed by a certain Brinkman (see Documentation, D. de Jaeger, Eindhoven). Police Agent F. van de Poel had refused to make the arrest as a matter of conscience. According to him, his commanding officer said that he would send "that ol' horse of a constable from Berkel-Enschot." That did not happen. Van de Poel made this known, in response to Fr. Anselmus Terstegge's request, in a letter dated December 2, 1965. Akh F Löb 8.

53. Interview with Fr. Cyprianus van den Bogaard, April 3, 2000; Terstegge, *Honderd jaar Koningshoeven* [100 years Koningshoeven]. Fr. Anselmus Terstegge was also an eyewitness.

"in order to avoid anything worse."[54] The abbot did not have much trouble following this advice: he was afraid the entire community or the whole monastery would be at risk if he did not cooperate with the command of the police on behalf of the occupying forces. He knew of examples of various monasteries and seminaries in the area that had been confiscated by the Gestapo or the Wehrmacht (the German armed forces). He also knew that the Trappist monastery of Scourmont had been evacuated at the command of the Germans.

After having contacted Bishop Mutsaerts by telephone, Dom Simon went to the guesthouse. The guest master, Fr. Protasius van Lammeren, was already there, and the Löb brothers arrived shortly thereafter. Since the other monks remained within the enclosure, they did not see the rest of what happened. Around 4:30 a.m.,[55] when the police arrived with the sisters, Hedwigis and Theresia had a heartwarming reunion with their three brothers, whom they had not seen or spoken with in years. The policemen were not aware of that fact, and were surprised by their high spirits. Then they all received the abbot's blessing and were packed into the van belonging to the Tilburg Police Department, to be taken to the Willem II military barracks in Tilburg. Their route passed through Goirle, where two other Catholic Jews were picked up. That explains why Paula Löb's

54. According to the copy of his announcements made the next day during chapter, in Terstegge, *Honderd jaar Koningshoeven* [100 years Koningshoeven]. That night Msgr. Mutsaerts received a number of telephone calls regarding Catholic Jews who were being arrested. Wouter Lutkie called regarding the arrest of Eva de Man and her children. Isaäc de Winter, from the Jewish Council in 's-Hertogenbosch, also contacted the bishop, seeking information about what was going on. Marietje de Man was spending the night with the De Winter family and escaped being arrested. See Vaartjes, *Herman de Man*, 472 ff.

55. This second arrival of policemen in Koningshoeven is probably what Fr. Toschke meant when he noted that the police arrived at 4:30 a.m. (see footnote 52). He also noted that several men were sitting in the bus along with the sisters: they were Jewish converts from Tilburg and the surrounding area who had also been picked up.

brother-in-law, Jos van Broekhoven, who was a Goirle policeman, saw the (armored) police van arriving early that morning.[56] He knew there were orders to pick up Catholic Jews, and he also knew who was on the list to be arrested. On August 1, the *Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung* [Central Office for Jewish Emigration] had sent a telegram to the local *Sicherheitspolizei* [Security Police] listing the names and addresses of Catholic Jews and their families, with the assignment to have them picked up by the Dutch police and transported to Camp Amersfoort.[57] This assignment also applied to the Goirle police. Tilburg's police log for August 2, 1942, noted that eighteen persons, all of them Catholic Jews, had been picked up in Tilburg, Udenhout, Berkel, and Goirle, and transported to the Tilburg police station. Three of the persons on the preestablished list were not picked up, one of those being Sr. Veronica Löb who, according to the police log written by Agent Brinkman of Tilburg, was not taken because "this Sister was sick and bedridden." Five persons were released at the police station, one of whom was noted to be a "half-Jew." The rest were then taken from the police station to the military barracks in Tilburg.[58] That is where Jos van Broekhoven could still visit the Löb brothers and sisters.[59]

56. That is what Jos van Broekhoven told the journalist E. Brok. See his article, "Piloten [Pilots] Escape Line Goirle 1942–1944," in the publication *Goirles Belang* [Goirle's Interest], March 1982 (35 pages). Brok did not really stick too closely to the facts: according to him, Van Broekhoven would have seen that the police van was filled with religious and he would have recognized one of the Löbs, even though it was, *nota bene*, an armored car.

57. Van der Leeuw, *Die Deportation*.

58. Documentation, D. de Jaeger, Eindhoven. Tilburg police log, signed by Brinkman, no. 532. See also D. de Jaeger, *De houding van de Nederlandse politie tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog in de grotere steden van Noord-Brabant* [The attitude of the Dutch police in the larger cities of North Brabant during World War II] (Tilburg, 1999).

59. Cf. Brok, Piloten [Pilots] Escape Line, 12. Van Broekhoven would have had informal contact with German policeman. In Tilburg he would have

That same Sunday, August 2, during chapter, the abbess shared the news with her community that Sr. Hedwigis Löb and Sr. Theresia Löb had been summoned that morning to go with the police, because of their Jewish descent, and that Lisamaria Meirowsky, as a baptized Jew, had also been taken.[60]

That same day, on the abbess' behalf, Sr. Agatha Bakker notified the bishop by letter that Sr. Hedwigis and Sr. Theresia had been summoned by the police at 5:15 a.m., and that they had had to be at the city hall within an hour in order to leave for 's-Hertogenbosch. The time she gave was not quite accurate, and she did not mention Sr. Veronica, but she did formally ask the bishop's permission for the arrested sisters to leave the enclosure.[61] This latter was the formal reason for the letter, which contained nothing that would have given any indication of sorrow or anxiety.

Dom Simon also had a formal reason for writing the bishop, as a follow-up of the telephone contact he had already had.[62] He did not mention Sr. Veronica, and he also omitted saying that Lisamaria

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asked if he might speak with the persons who had been brought to the Willem II military barracks in the police van, for personal reasons. This would have been permitted, and he would have spoken with one or more of the Löb family, with the understanding that they would never see each other again. Jos van Broekhoven did not tell Brok anything else about the content of this meeting. Further on in the article, Brok presents the now outdated theory that the two Löb priests were executed by firing squad. Jos van Broekhoven had already died before P. Steffen had an opportunity to ask him to clarify his actions on August 2, 1942. The fact that Van Broekhoven had little or nothing to say about his experiences during the war was probably partly due to his own involvement as a policeman, and the moral burden which he bore for that reason.

60. Sr. Laurentia Delfgaauw, interview; memories of Abbess Pauline de Reuver, *Katholieke Illustratie* [Catholic Illustrated (a weekly Catholic periodical)] (August 16, 1958).

61. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Trappistines, box 300.

62. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Trappists, box 483.

Meirowsky had been taken. He referred to the nocturnal telephone conversation and indicated that he was of the opinion that the Wehrmacht (the German armed forces) had given the orders for arrest. But more than anything else, Dom Simon was concerned about the salvation of the souls of the arrested monks and nuns. That is why he asked the bishop for approval after the fact of the faculties he had given Fr. Ignatius to hear the confessions of both of his sisters:[63] they were leaving the enclosure for the world, where the salvation of their souls could be seriously threatened. Dom Simon mentioned nothing in this letter about any anxiety or concern he may have had concerning what might happen to his fellow monks and nuns now. He did say that it had to do with "the Jewish members of our monastery and the monastery of Koningsoord," and that this was the reason for their having been arrested. The letter is dated August 2, but that is probably incorrect, since he speaks of both "yesterday morning" and "last Sunday morning." He probably wrote the letter on Monday, August 3. Dom Simon had told the community of the arrests on Sunday during chapter.

Then Br. Albericus Anink, on the abbot's behalf, let Harrie van Broekhoven know that Fr. Ignatius, Fr. Nivardus, Br. Linus, and their sisters (once again, nothing about Sr. Veronica) had been picked up by the Tilburg police in the police van.[64]

That same day, the monks and nuns who had been picked up were taken from the military barracks in Tilburg to 's-Hertogenbosch, and from there to Camp Amersfoort, where they were housed in a

63. Later it was said that Fr. Ignatius had become just a little "sick" from hearing so many confessions in Camp Westerbork. According to Toschke, *Huiskroniek* [House Chronicles], August 1942, an intermediary by the name of Van Riel would have told Abbot Dubuisson this. We suspect that Van Riel related what the abbot wanted to hear, and what the abbot wanted to share with the other monks and nuns during chapter.

64. Ako file 430.

separate section.[65] There they met all the other Catholic Jews who had been picked up that Sunday morning throughout the whole of the Netherlands.

Among these were members of the Bromberg family, to whom they were related, namely: Richard, Lucie, and their two youngest children, Richard and Renée. Richard Sr., Lutz Löb's cousin, had studied law and medicine and had been baptized in 1927. His father, Jeremias Bromberg, had been married twice, with Richard being born of his first marriage to Johanna (also called Jeannette) Loeb, Lutz's aunt. So Richard had two Jewish parents. After Johanna died in 1911, Jeremias married Paula Rosenfeld, a non-Jew. The municipality of Amersfoort had previously investigated the status of Jeremias Bromberg in the context of the obligatory registration in 1941. As part of this process, a standard form had been sent to the municipality of Münstereifel with a request for information about Johanna Loeb's ancestry.[66] After the death of his first wife, Richard also remarried. His second wife was a non-Jew, Lucie Rosenthal, who bore him two children: Richard Jr. and Renée. After having waited for this data to be verified, the Bromberg family (which, in the meantime, had been transported to Westerbork, along with the others) was released on August 24.[67]

In Camp Amersfoort, the members of the Löb family met other acquaintances as well, such as Eva de Man, with five of her seven children, who was convinced that nothing could happen to herself

65. Slippens, *Kamp Amersfoort*, 1985.

66. Standesamt [Registrar's Office] Bad Münstereifel, letter accompanying the death certificate of M. A. Levy, 1866. This letter was wrongly attached to this death certificate. This Maria Anna Levy was not Johanna Loeb's mother.

67. Ten years after the war, Richard Jr. wrote up his memories of being arrested on August 2 and transported to Amersfoort, of living in Camp Westerbork, and of the deportation of almost 1000 persons to Auschwitz on August 7. This was published in *Sint Willibrord Apostolaat* [St. Willibrord Apostolate], 1954, and in *De Bazuin* [The Trumpet], 1955. Terstegge based his *Ter Herinnering* [In Memory] on these articles.

and her family since they were Catholics. Her husband, Herman de Man, was not in the Netherlands when the call-up and the arrests took place. He had left for his "writer's hut" in France right before the war broke out.[68]

There were about ten monks and nuns in the group of 245 Catholic Jews who were picked up on August 2, including the Carmelites Rosa and Edith Stein from Echt, and the Dominican Judith Mendes da Costa from Voorschoten/Bilthoven, as well as the sons and daughters of Lutz Löb. They all met one another on August 4 in Westerbork. Sr. Judith wrote of this encounter in her journal, which has survived.[69]

68. Herman de Man arrived in London, via Portugal, in May 1942, where he quickly got a job with Radio Oranje and the Public Relations Office of the Dutch government in exile. In 1943, following an argument with his superiors, he was transferred to Curaçao, where he started setting up a local radio network. During all that time, he had no contact with his family. When he returned to the Netherlands in August 1945 and discovered that he had lost his wife and five of his children, he was disillusioned and full of resentment: he could not write any more and he did not want to. He tried to build up something of a family life with Marietje and Joost, his two children who had survived the war, but that did not last very long: he was killed in an airplane accident at Schiphol Airport on November 14, 1946. G. Vaartjes, "Hamburger, Salomon Herman, 1898–1946," in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* [Biographical Dictionary of the Netherlands], vol. 3 (The Hague, 1989); Vaartjes, *Herman de Man*, 472 ff.

69. Journal entries by Judith Mendes da Costa in the archives of the Congregation of the Dominican Sisters of Saint Catherine of Siena in Voorschoten. She had jotted down some rough notes on stationary from the Berg en Bosch [Mountain and Forest] Sanatorium in Bilthoven, later copying over some of the entries. Her notes from the war, supplemented by autobiographical notes concerning her youth, her conversion, and her early years in the monastery, were subsequently typed and published in-house by the Dominican Sisters under the title *Amsterdam 1895–1944 Oswiecim (Auswitz). Autobiografie* (Voorschoten, 2006). We are citing from the original handwritten text.

While the Löb sons and daughters were arrested in the middle of the night, the police did not come to take Sr. Judith from her monastery in Voorschoten until 10:30 in the morning. Just as the members of the Löb family had been questioned in the military barracks in Tilburg, so was Sr. Judith questioned in the Hollandsche Schouwburg (then a theater, now a war monument) in Amsterdam, which had been furnished to serve as an assembly point for Jews who had been picked up during the raids. Here Judith met the famous convert Francisca van Leer, from whom she received a small portrait card with the text, "*Consolamini, populi mei*" [*sic*, that's how Sr. Judith had written the text which was printed on the card: Be comforted, my people].[70] In Amsterdam, Judith had also met the convert Jacob Feitsma, who had earlier been in contact with Lutz Löb.[71] The following day, Feitsma wrote a letter to his parish priest, describing himself as "an offering, Jesus' joyful sacrifice." This letter was subsequently read by a great many persons and often quoted.[72]

Sr. Judith regarded the arrests of the Catholic Jews as an insult to the bishops and a violation of the promise not to deport baptized Jews. She knew of the pulpit announcement and the protest telegram, as did the Löb sons, who had probably also drawn the same conclusion.

Just as in Tilburg, those in the Hollandsche Schouwburg who had mixed marriages were sent back home. The Löb brothers and sisters were taken by train from Tilburg to Amersfoort, where they had to

70. Regarding Francisca van Leer, see M. Poorthuis and Th. Salemink, *Op zoek naar de blauwe ruiter. Sophie van Leer, een leven tussen avant-garde, jodendom en christendom, 1892–1953* [In Search of the Blue Knight: Sophie van Leer, a life between avant-garde, Judaism, and Christianity, 1892–1953] (Nijmegen, 2000). Regarding this particular encounter, see also Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], 503, where it is described from the postwar perspective of Francisca van Leer.

71. Jacob Feitsma was born on April 13, 1895, in Amsterdam. He was unmarried and worked as a translator.

72. Journal entries by Judith Mendes da Costa.

spend a day and a night. They were not treated well there: at one point, in the presence of both of their sisters, Ignatius, Nivardus, and Linus (and perhaps others) were "jokingly" placed against a wall and guns were aimed at them.[73]

On August 4, the Löbs, together with ninety-one other Catholic Jews, were transported by train to Hooghalen Station. From there, most of the prisoners had to walk about an hour and a quarter in a long procession, until they arrived in Camp Westerbork. The Löbs had a place in one of the two overcrowded horse-drawn carts—Sr. Judith had seen them pass by on the way and had waved to them. She herself had been offered a ride in an automobile, but had declined and was walking along with all the others.

After they arrived in Camp Westerbork, everyone had to line up in a large room where all their personal identification papers were collected, and an extensive registration process ensued:[74]

> It was a really big room with little tables spaced at intervals and men sitting behind the tables. At the entrance we were told that we had to remain standing behind the chalk line drawn around the tables. The distance was about a yard, so those men didn't have to be afraid of getting too close to the Jews. Everything was taken away from us here: first and foremost our identification papers, and then our registration

73. It was later written that Judith had heard the story of this terrifying experience from Lien Löb (Sr. Emerentia, "Het klooster achter prikkeldraad" [The Monastery Behind Barbed Wire], *Het Volksweekblad* [The People's Weekly] [August 16, 1952]), but in her own journal entries, Judith does not mention from whom she had heard this story. Camp Amersfoort had a reputation of being quite sadistic, so it is quite possible that the Löb boys really were set against the wall. See G. von Frijtag Drabbe Künzel, *Kamp Amersfoort* (Amsterdam, 2003).

74. For a photo of this room, see J. Boas, *Boulevard des Misères. Het verhaal van het doorgangskamp Westerbork* [Boulevard of Miseries: The Story of Westerbork Transit Camp] (Amsterdam, 1988), 199.

> cards, receipts, bank books, money (we were allowed to keep a small amount), gold, silver, etc. And time and time again we had to sign papers.[75]

A photo was also taken of each person individually, with a slate held up in front, on which a number had been written in chalk. That took hours, since there were hundreds of people gathered together in the theater. After a long wait, all the newcomers were checked for head lice by a doctor in one of the barracks. That is where the various members of religious congregations met each other. Judith thought Br. Linus was a Franciscan, with his brown habit and long beard. In addition to the Löb brothers and sisters and the Stein sisters, this group of religious also included a postulant from the Good Shepherd Sisters, a Sacred Heart Sister, Sr. Miriam of the Franciscans of Saint Joseph (who was dressed as a nurse), and the Polish-German doctor, Lisamaria Meirowsky. Barrack 36 was one of the barracks in Westerbork where the Catholic Jews who had come from Amersfoort were housed.[76] Men and women were separated.

The sisters who were lodged in the same barracks tried to stay together as much as possible because, as they told Sr. Judith, "then maybe we'll still be able to pray the Divine Office together." Nonetheless, the differences between the way the Trappistines prayed the Divine Office and the way the Carmelites prayed the Divine Office were experienced as a major problem. As far as possible, they tried to maintain the same schedule they had followed in the monastery and, as it were, to form a contemplative monastery within the camp. However, people who knew Sr. Judith from the Hollandsche Schouwburg

75. Journal entries by Judith Mendes da Costa.

76. For a description of Camp Westerbork, see Herzberg, *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging* [Chronicles of the Jewish Persecution]; Philip Mechanicus, *In Dépôt. Dagboek uit Westerbork* [Held On Deposit: A Westerbork Journal] (Amsterdam, 1978); Boas, *Boulevard des Misères*; Willy Lindwer, *Kamp van hoop en wanhoop, getuigen van Westerbork 1939–1945* [A Camp of Hope and Despair: Westerbork's Witnesses, 1939–1945] (Amsterdam, 1990).

kept coming to visit her on a regular basis, disturbing the silence and the "monastic atmosphere." A dividing line grew up between the contemplative sisters and those from active congregations.

Sr. Judith felt awkward in such an atmosphere, so the next day she pointed out that, as a Dominican, she was obligated to do apostolic work among the people, and for that matter, there were other sisters who were helping out in the various barracks. The Trappistines (Hedwigis and Theresia Löb) and the two Carmelites (Rosa and Edith Stein) stayed in their barrack, though, just as they had previously stayed within the enclosure of their monasteries. They got up quite early the next morning, as they were accustomed to in their monasteries, but they were not allowed to leave the barracks. Later they did some cleaning in the barracks and then in the afternoon they had to line up again for roll call.

The next morning, all the new arrivals had to report to the commandant. It was a really big group, and they all had to wait in a tiny little room until they were called, one by one, to go into the next room where they would find out whether or not they would be granted a reprieve or be put on transport. Many came out of that room disappointed, and there was already talk of all reprieves being rescinded. The Löb brothers and sisters were not granted a reprieve.

Edith Stein and her sister Rosa underwent the same fate as the Löbs. Sr. Judith saw Edith leaving the commandant's small office: she looked "really pale but resigned, and she was still comforting her fellow sufferers."[77] Lucie Bromberg had contact with Edith Stein

77. Many books have been written about Edith Stein, a number of them being texts with a hagiographical character. The literature about her life often portrays the few days she spent in Camp Westerbork as being much more active, with Edith feeling a strong solidarity with her fellow prisoners and their common lot. She is even imputed to have assumed a position of leadership, even though such a position was almost never filled by newcomers in the camp. For accounts of Edith's life, we make reference only to E. Endres, *Edith Stein. Christliche Philosophin und jüdische Martyrerin* [Christian Philosopher and Jewish Martyr] (Munich/Zurich, 1987); Waltraud Herbstrith, *Das wahre Ge-*

several times while they were in Westerbork and she regarded her as being really silent, calling her a "Pietà without a Christ."[78]

On Thursday afternoon, August 6, a woman from Assen brought ordinary clothes to the camp for the sisters, since it was assumed they would not be allowed to wear their habits during the transport. Later the monks were also provided with lay clothing. The barracks' leader told Sr. Judith that she would not be put on transport that Thursday evening, and that she, along with the others who had been granted reprieve, would have to leave the barracks.[79] There were twelve persons in all, including Mrs. Lucie Bromberg and her little girl Renée, and they were moved to a small cottage.

The arrival of the Catholic Jews in Westerbork attracted the attention of the other prisoners in the camp, including Etty Hillesum, who had already been there a while and who would later become well known. In a later journal entry, she described her encounter

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sicht Edith Steins [The Real Face of Edith Stein] (Aschaffenburg, 1971); S. Batzdorff, *Edith Stein—meine Tante. Das jüdische Erbe einer katholischen Heiligen* [My Aunt—Edith Stein: The Jewish Heritage of a Catholic Saint] (Würzburg, 2000); and R. Wimmer, *Vier jüdische Philosophinnen* [Four Jewish Women who were Philosophers] (Leipzig, 1999), 217–303. Wimmer's portrait of Edith Stein as philosopher and feminist is fascinating; his critical comments regarding the taciturn attitude of the German bishops during and after the war, in contrast to the protests uttered by the Dutch bishops, are also interesting.

78. Terstegge, *Ter Herinnering* [In Memory], 31. Terstegge based his account on Richard Bromberg Jr.'s memories. He was of the opinion that Edith Stein knew what lay before her, and that was why she was so sad.

79. Journal entries by Judith Mendes da Costa. Judith was later released, but picked up again at the end of the war, on February 2, 1944, along with other Sephardic Jews (of Spanish and Portuguese origin) and deported under the pretext of being taken to their country of origin for safety. See Herzberg, *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging* [Chronicles of the Jewish Persecution], 141ff. See also the continuation of the article by Sr. Emerentia Peterse in *Het Volksweekblad* [The People's Weekly] (August 23, 1952). Judith was in Theresienstadt concentration camp from February 25 through May 16, 1944, where she died.

with the two brothers Ignatius and Nivardus who she thought were twins:

> It was quite a remarkable day when the Jewish Catholics—or the Catholic Jews, however you want to put it—came in on one of the transports: the nuns and priests with the yellow star on their habits. I remember two young boys—twins, both with the same pretty, dark, ghetto faces and an unaffected, childish expression peeking out from under their hoods—who related kindly and a bit surprised that they had been pulled out of the early Mass one morning at 4:30 a.m., and that they had eaten red cabbage in Amersfoort.[80]

A short conversation arose between Br. Linus and Etty. He related that this was the first time he had been out in the "world" for about fifteen years. Etty asked him what he thought about the world now. Linus remained unshaken, looking around in a friendly sort of way, and did not say anything else. But the way he was looking at everything around him gave Etty the impression that it all came back from long ago, well known and familiar.[81] Perhaps the Löb brothers had fewer problems than their sisters with the sudden transition from an enclosed monastery to the camp situation, where there was no privacy at all. In the evening they were walking between the barracks, one after the other, unaffectedly praying their rosary, as if they were in the cloister of a monastery.[82] The transition had been much more of a shock for the sisters. They had to remove their caps and

80. Paul Lebeau, *Etty Hillesum. Een spirituele zoektocht* [A Spiritual Quest] (Tielt/Baarn, 1999), here 189.

81. Lebeau is mistaken in note 135 of his study, if he presumes that Etty is referring to George Löb here. He notes that it was a lay brother, but George was a choir monk, wearing a white habit with a black scapular.

82. Lebeau, *Etty Hillesum*, 190.

veils and submit to delousing, and then walk around with their heads swathed in white, embarrassed and sad amid all the shaved heads.[83]

Nonetheless, during their short stay in Westerbork, Sr. Hedwigis and Sr. Theresia, as well as Sr. Lisamaria, were able to give several signs of life from the camp. On Thursday afternoon, August 6, the abbess of Koningsoord received two telegrams: one from the Löb sisters and one from Lisamaria. The next day she received a postcard from the Löb sisters which contained some of the information which had been in the telegrams. Both the telegrams and the postcard were a request "for one set of winter habits, shoes, stockings, socks, guimpes (the broad white cloth draped around the neck and shoulders of a nun's habit), sanitary napkins, handkerchiefs, bath towels, soap, a sewing kit, writing materials, breviaries, a thick woolen blanket, dust brushes, a shoe brush, and shoe polish for each of us." The Löb sisters also asked for some things especially for Sr. Portress (meaning Lisamaria): "a heavy black skirt and a blouse, woolen underwear, a nightgown like the one that was in the gray suitcase, an apron, a sewing kit, writing materials, packages of medicines and bandages." They requested the following books as well: "Roman missals, *Manuale Christianum*, the catechism in both Dutch and German, and the old Dominican breviary." And finally, they asked for some winter clothing for the monks. (Apparently the Löb brothers had not had an opportunity to send a message themselves to the abbot.) Everything had to be at the camp before Friday morning. "Heartfelt greetings, from all three of us!" was written at the bottom of the postcard.[84] In her telegram, Lisamaria had also asked that a copy of her birth certificate, her baptismal certificate, and her medical license be sent. A rough draft of the telegrams had

83. Lebeau, *Etty Hillesum*, 189; *Het denkende hart van de barak. Brieven van Etty Hillesum* [The Thinking Heart of the Barrack: Letters from Etty Hillesum] (Haarlem, 1982), 27. Etty noticed the consternation of the nuns who were forced to let themselves be deloused in public.

84. Ako file 435. This postcard is printed in Mohr and Prégardier, *Passion im August*, 224.

been written on the blank pages of a French pocket datebook for September 7, 8, 9, and 10, 1942 (possibly belonging to one of their fellow prisoners), and, remarkably, these pages have survived. Presumably, the telegrams would have been sent by someone from the Jewish Council who was allowed to leave the camp. Perhaps this person also kept the pages on which the rough draft was written and mailed them later.[85] The sisters' postcard included a request to give the message to the abbess by telephone, but it is not known whether anyone was actually able to telephone or not. The postcard itself was received in Koningsoord on August 7, perhaps having been mailed by someone on the Jewish Council. Someone other than the Löb sisters had noted in the margin: "departure will probably be a few days later—send it to Aliens Camp Post Office, Hooghalen, Westerbork, Dr. [Drenthe]."

Lisamaria also sent a postcard, signed by the Löb sisters as well, which was stamped in Hooghalen on August 7, but probably reached the abbess too late.[86] In this postcard, Lisamaria asked that "ration books and registration cards" be sent to "Hooghalen-Oost, Kamp Westerbork (Drenthe) Barrack 36." She referred to herself as "Sr. Portress" and noted that she and the Löb sisters were doing fine. Hedwigis and Theresia wrote a short greeting at the end. These were the last messages which the monastery received from their deported sisters.

While in the camp, Lisamaria also had an opportunity to write a letter to her confessor, Fr. M. Frehe, OP,[87] to whom the convert Feitsma had also written. It seems as though this letter was not censored. She was able to write, without any reservations, that they were waiting to be sent on to Poland, and that she didn't expect to survive the experience. She told of her longing for Mass and Communion,

85. For that matter, there's no envelope with a return address for this rough draft in Ako. It remains unclear how this rough draft ended up in Koningsoord Abbey.

86. Ako file 437.

87. Ako file 432. See Mohr and Prégardier, *Passion im August*, 205, where this letter is printed in its entirety in a German translation.

but that there was no opportunity in the camp. She wrote nothing about the Löb priests hearing confessions. Lisamaria regarded their arrest as being a witness to Jesus, and to the bishops who had protested in truth, using the word "offering" to clarify what she meant, and she implored her confessor to let the archbishop read her letter, to set his mind at peace. She apparently had a feeling that what had happened weighed heavily on Archbishop De Jong's conscience.

The telegrams did reach the abbess in time (arriving in Enschot at 12:07 p.m., Thursday afternoon) to be able to pack some things for the sisters and to ship them. On Thursday evening, August 6, Matthias Arts, a Carmelite who was the acting pastor in Assen, received a telephone call from Westerbork with an inquiry as to whether there were any crates at the Assen Station: yes, there were, and the pastor saw to it that a friend took them to the camp and delivered them to the Löb brothers.[88] The question remains as to how much clothing they were actually able to take with them in the train to Auschwitz, for the Germans confiscated much of the merchandise which was sent to their prisoners.

Ignatius, Nivardus, Linus, Hedwigis, and Theresia did not stay in Westerbork very long—on August 7 they were already being placed on the train to be transported East. From surviving documents, it seems that a long, shrill siren sounded in the camp around 4:00 a.m. on August 7.[89] Someone pounded on the doors and those who had earlier heard that they were going to be put on transport quickly got up and left the camp, heading for the station in Hooghalen, where the train stood ready. This was the ninth transport from Camp Westerbork to Auschwitz-Birkenau, carrying a total of 987 persons, of whom sixty-three were Catholic Jews,[90] including the

88. Ako file 430.

89. Journal entries by Sr. Judith Mendes da Costa.

90. See Kempner, *Edith Stein und Anne Frank*, 101–2, where List a, no. 17, is reprinted. This transport list comes from the German administration in Camp Westerbork.

Löb brothers and sisters, the Stein sisters, and the German-Polish Lisamaria Meirowsky. "The religious habits made a strange silhouette against the duffel bags and backpacks with baggage," related Richard Bromberg:[91] apparently the religious had not had to exchange their habits for civilian clothing. According to the schedule, the train would have departed at 9:30 a.m. from Hooghalen in order to arrive in Auschwitz-Birkenau on August 9.[92]

Auschwitz was located near Krakow (Cracow), on the edge of Silesia, and had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire before World War I. After World War I, Auschwitz became part of Poland.[93] In 1939 this entire area was annexed by the Third Reich and German names were introduced. Construction of a camp was begun here early in 1940, but even before that, existing barracks were already being used to house prisoners of war. Originally, the camp was intended to be a transit camp, but it was quickly expanded to become the Third Reich's largest concentration camp. The prisoners were used to provide manpower for German factories in Auschwitz III-Monowitz, which was only a few kilometers away, and the other thirty-eight labor camps. In November 1941, Auschwitz II-Birkenau was built, three kilometers northwest of the first camp, with railroad tracks and a train platform where the prisoners were separated into groups. This was the actual extermination camp and the point of destination for Jewish transports coming from all parts of Europe. When a train arrived in Birkenau, members of the SS separated the passengers who were still able to work from all the others (mostly

91. Ignatius Bromberg, "Trappisten met een Davidsster" [Trappists with a Star of David], *De Bazuin* [The Trumpet] (January 15, 22, and 29, 1955).

92. For the train routes to Auschwitz-Birkenau, see J. Bacon, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jewish Civilization*, 173. The trains from the Netherlands traveled via Berlin and Breslau.

93. S. Steinbacher, *Auschwitz. Een geschiedenis* [Auschwitz: A History] Utrecht, 2005; Benz, *Holocaust*, 101ff.; Herzberg, *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging* [Chronicles of the Jewish Persecution].

women with children, and older persons). These latter were sent directly to the gas chambers without any further bureaucratic procedures, such as registration—there were a number of crematoria and gas chambers in Auschwitz-Birkenau. After a gassing, other Jewish prisoners had to pull the bodies out of the gas chambers, cut off their hair, remove any gold crowns from their mouths, and sort through everything they had brought with them, separating whatever could still be used by the German people. In Birkenau, the notorious Dr. Joseph Mengele and other doctors also performed medical experiments on the prisoners.[94]

Of the 987 Dutch Jews who left Westerbork by train on August 7, 1942, 523 men, women, and children were sent directly to the gas chambers on their arrival in Auschwitz on August 9,[95] which means they were not registered and they never received a camp number.[96] This group included Rosa and Edith Stein as well as Eva de Man and her children. The Löbs were not sent directly to the gas chambers; they went to the camp itself, where they were registered and deloused. Instead of their habits, they were given camp uniforms to wear, after which they had to find a place in one of the many barracks. No contemporary data about their stay in Auschwitz has survived, and we are not aware of any survivors who might have been able to offer any information concerning them.

94. For example, one can read Liana Millu, *Der Rauch über Birkenau* [The Smoke Over Birkenau] (Frankfurt, 1999). This Italian writer was active in the resistance movement. She was picked up during a raid in Venice in 1944 and deported to Birkenau, but she survived. In this book she tells six stories in which women play a central role. The well-known author Primo Levi wrote the foreword to this moving book.

95. Database, *In Memoriam*, Joods Historisch Museum [Jewish Historical Museum], Amsterdam.

96. Cf. Kempner, *Edith Stein und Anne Frank*, 106–7. Moreover, due to a lack of information about camp numbers, Kempner wrongly presumed that the Löb sisters were also sent directly to the gas chambers immediately after their arrival.

In the surviving *Death Books of Auschwitz*, which were confiscated by the Russians when the camp was liberated, it is noted that 219 Dutch Jews were gassed on August 19, 1942.[97] These included primarily those persons who departed from Westerbork on August 17 and who were sent directly to the gas chambers when they arrived in Auschwitz on August 19. This group was filled with prisoners who had already been living in the camp for a while and who were also sent to the gas chambers on August 19: Ignatius and Nivardus were part of this group.[98] Their names along with their camp numbers were included in the Auschwitz registrations:

43777 Ernest Löb
43778 George Löb

Linus and his sisters, Hedwigis and Theresia, remained in the concentration camp along with Lisamaria Meirowsky until they were sent to the gas chambers on September 30, together with 610 persons who had arrived in Auschwitz that same day on the transport from Westerbork.[99] According to the registrations, 7017 Dutch Jews were gassed in Auschwitz on September 30. *De Nederlandse Staatscourant* [The Dutch Government Gazette] listed their names and camp numbers in the supplement for April 27, 1950:

43779 Robert Löb
43780 Lina Löb

97. *In Memoriam*, Joods Historisch Museum [Jewish Historical Museum]. One of the *Death Books* is presently in the collection of the War Museum in Overloon, but this is not the book containing data from September 1942. The other *Death Books* are in Poland. We received no response to our (repeated) requests for a copy of the pages on which the members of the Löb family are mentioned.

98. Based on data from the International Red Cross, published in *De Nederlandse Staatscourant* [The Dutch Government Gazette] as supplements which listed information concerning missing persons. On April 27, 1950, the names of the deceased members of the Löb family were included in list 82.

99. *In Memoriam*, The Hague, 1995, 469.

43781 Theodora Löb
43802 Lisamaria Meirowsky

On September 30, 1942, two other members of the Löb family were also killed in the gas chambers: the children's great-uncle, Ernst Loeb, and their second cousin, Salomon Cohen. We do not know whether they knew one another, nor if they saw each other in Auschwitz.

3.2 Reactions to the Arrest and Deportation, Within the Monasteries and Without

After the Löb monks and nuns left Westerbork, the monasteries remained in a state of great uncertainty regarding their fate until long after the war. It is true, though, that there were all sorts of rumors making the rounds, and these in turn led to other stories, which at a certain point became anchored in the memories of both monasteries.

One thing that is certain is that a sales representative from the abbey's brewery, Van Riel, went to Westerbork on August 7, 1942, at the request of Dom Simon. Dom Simon mentioned this during chapter in both monasteries on August 7. Van Riel would have seen that the monks and nuns had departed that morning on a train to "the East."[100]

100. Fr. Toschke, *Huiskroniek* [House Chronicles], under August 1942. See also the Annals of Koningsoord Abbey, 22. Dom Simon gave the sisters a weekly account of happenings. The Chronicles report that Van Riel spoke with the Löb brothers and sisters, but that seems quite improbable. It could be that Van Riel told the abbot this, probably to put his mind at rest. It is also possible that the abbot, at his own discretion, added this element to his story for the communities. A third possibility is that the chronicler himself filled out the information. It was said that Van Riel witnessed the departure of the Löbs from Camp Westerbork on August 7. He probably did not actually see them leaving on the train, since the train station was several kilometers away, and it seems quite unlikely that the Germans would have allowed spectators. Van Riel probably saw the people leaving the barracks in the camp, on their way to the Hooghalen train station.

All contact was broken once they left Westerbork. On August 23, 1942, the abbess received one more letter, this time from Sr. Judith Mendes da Costa, saying that the monks and nuns really had been put on transport to Silesia on August 7.[101]

From these messages, the monks and nuns in the monasteries did know that the Löbs had been deported by train to the East on August 7. They also knew of the existence of prison camps and labor camps. Rumors about gas chambers were circulating, but those in the monasteries did not realize that their ultimate intention was to exterminate all Jews.

During the weeks which followed, there were efforts at various levels to do something, especially regarding the fate of the deported Catholic Jews. Most of the Protestant Jews had not been picked up, or they had been released in Amersfoort, so it was primarily the Catholic Jews who needed help. The bishops realized that the Germans had abusively taken advantage of their action to make it seem as if picking up a number of Catholic Jews had been a retaliatory measure for the "disobedience" and "animosity" of the protesting bishops. Archbishop De Jong reacted by writing a letter to Seyss-Inquart,[102] and later making another urgent appeal to him to set the Catholic Jews free.[103]

A certain Mr. Matthee contacted F. Bühner (assistant to General Commissioner F. Schmidt in Department IV B4 in The Hague) on behalf of the bishops, to try to find out something about the situation in which the Catholic Jews found themselves, but he received very little useful information.[104] Dom Simon was informed of Mat-

101. Ako file 486.

102. See Stokman, *Het verzet* [The Protest], 253–55, for the German text of the letter from the archbishop, on behalf of the Dutch Bishops' Conference, addressed to the Reich Commissioner, dated August 23, 1942.

103. Telegram, dated August 29, 1942. See Stokman for the exact text.

104. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, War Archives, Box 3: Catholic Jews. Letter, Msgr. Mutsaerts to Msgr. De Jong on this matter, August 12, 1942.

thee's efforts.[105] The bishops also engaged the already mentioned L. Minderop from Vught as intermediary, who tried to contact Bühner in The Hague in order to find out something about the deported Catholic Jews and to plead for their release.[106] Acting on Dom Simon's instructions, Abbess Gertrudis had asked for Jos van Dijk's assistance in making contacts which might be advantageous for the deported monks and nuns.

On September 20, Van Dijk could report that there were contacts with Bühner in The Hague, and that "Piet" (Karel) van der Putt, the mayor of Geldrop, was busy trying to locate the Catholic Jews and get them released.[107] In the meantime, Bühner was holding these people at bay with a story about a monastery in southern Germany where the monks and nuns were supposedly being held prisoner. They believed this all too willingly. In a letter dated November 7, 1942, Van Dijk quoted a word of hope from Bühner. Bühner was said to have promised him, "Bestimmt kommen sie zurück" [Surely, they will return].[108] A little later, Van Dijk could report that Bühner had said that the Löb brothers and sisters were housed in a "good camp."[109] In January 1943, Van Dijk reported that he had once again visited Bühner, who had once again assured him that the deported monks and nuns would return. Bühner had even encouraged them to write letters from the monastery and to send things to the Löbs, saying that he would see to it that the letters and the goods reached their intended recipients, giving the impression that he knew where the Löbs were.[110]

105. Ako file 430, letter, Fr. Theodorus, to Dom Simon, August 18, 1942.

106. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, War Archives, Box 3: Catholic Jews.

107. Ako file 468; Archives, K. van der Putt, file 527.

108. Ako file 468.

109. Ako file 468, letter, Van Dijk to the abbess, December 16, 1942. It is to be noted that part of this letter has been made illegible.

110. Ako file 468.

In May 1943, the abbess turned to Msgr. Mutsaerts once again,[111] this time asking his advice regarding the mayor's request to store confiscated radios in the monastery. Mutsaerts let her know that she should not make any space available in the monastery for storing radios "which have been taken from the people, unless you are forced to do so by higher authorities, or unless very special circumstances make it necessary for you to give in to this request." In other words, no voluntary cooperation, but no resistance either. On this occasion, the abbess also asked the bishop for help regarding the deported sisters, Hedwigis and Theresia:

> A few months ago, I heard that the Pope had set up an organization through which he had been able to effect the return of a great many persons who had been deported. At that time I wrote the abbess of our monastery in Grottaferrata to ask her if she might be able to do anything for our two sisters. She then requested the necessary information, adding that our Procurator in Rome was ready to do all that might be in his power. Up until now we haven't sent anything though, presuming that the information would never make it across the border. Now I've come up with the idea of asking Your Excellency if you think it would be of any use for us to try something along these lines? And if so, may I then ask you, Monsignor, if you would be prepared to use the special means available to you to see to it that a letter really would reach our Procurator?

Mutsaerts responded, saying that he had no special means at his disposal for getting information to Rome.[112]

111. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, War Archives, Box 3: Catholic Jews. Letter, May 19, 1943.

112. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Trappistines, box 300. Letter, May 21, 1943.

Toward the end of 1943, Dom Simon received a request from the diocesan leadership, asking specifically who the Trappists and Trappistines were who had been picked up and might still be in Germany, so that targeted efforts could be made to track them down.[113] The abbot responded by return mail, listing the five names,[114] and adding that there was absolutely no certainty about where they might be. These plans to search for the deported monks and nuns were never executed, though, probably due to strong suspicions that the Löbs were no longer alive. The contractor Jos van Dijk, to whom we referred above, reported in a letter dated June 1, 1944, that the priests, Ignatius and Nivardus Löb, had been executed by firing squad in Poland on June 13, 1943.[115] The fact that they had already been dead for almost two years was only irrefutably determined in 1950, and by then it was clear that Linus, Hedwigis, and Theresia had also been gassed in Auschwitz, late in the summer of 1942.

It was logical for the abbot and abbess themselves to try to do something for the Löb monks and nuns during the months following August 1942: being their superiors, they felt responsible. It was different, though, for the other religious in both monasteries. Of all the Trappistines, only a few had witnessed what had happened during the night of August 2; the others had only heard the announcement made by the abbess in the course of the day, and then any other news that might have been shared later during chapter. In the Trappist monastery it was different. There, almost the entire community had witnessed the sudden departure of three of their brother monks. Immediately following their arrest, it is certain that there were regular announcements during chapter concerning all attempts to track down the monks and nuns, but gradually things quieted down. Really, no one could even imagine what their fellow monks and nuns had to go through during their deportation.

113. Akh F Löb 7, letter, diocese, November 17, 1943.

114. Akh F Löb 7, letter, November 19, 1943.

115. Archives, K. van der Putt, file 531, letter, Jos van Dijk to K. van der Putt.

The fact that the Trappists and Trappistines lived a culture of silence meant that very little would have been said about the Löbs outside chapter. In choir, others quickly filled in the empty places. In such a large group of religious,[116] where the individual monk or nun did not attract much attention and was not expected to attract much attention, only a few had closer bonds with the Löbs and thought of them regularly. For most of the monks and nuns, the further events of the ongoing war occupied their attention, and gradually the assumption that they would never see the Löbs again grew stronger.

In the fall of 1944, the war front moved to the area around Koningshoeven and made it necessary for the monks to take refuge in the cellars on a regular basis, along with their neighbors who also fled to the monastery for safety. This "cellar life," as Terstegge called it, led to an unavoidable relaxation of monastic discipline.[117] They could not observe the strict times of prayer, the monks spoke among themselves more than normally would have been the case, and they also spoke with their neighbors. Dom Simon gave permission to listen to the radio on a regular basis, in order to keep abreast of the war news. Within this abnormal sphere, there was also more discussion of the happenings surrounding the Löb brothers and sisters and, due to a lack of new information, the rumors were gradually accepted as being true.

Koningshoeven Abbey suffered very little damage during the bombing raids in the area: windows were blown out and roofing tiles on the outbuildings were destroyed, but for the rest, the material damage was quite limited. One brother was mortally wounded when a shell exploded in the immediate vicinity. After the liberation of that area on October 28, 1944, Allied soldiers were quartered in the abbey, ensuring that the silence and regularity of their monastic

116. In 1938, the community of Koningshoeven totaled about 100 members, and Koningsoord, about 50.

117. Terstegge, *Honderd jaar Koningshoeven* [100 years Koningshoeven].

life could not yet return. An emergency hospital for soldiers of all nationalities was set up in the Trappistine Abbey.

Earlier in his life, Dom Simon had been a strong, domineering person, a big man with a heavy, penetrating voice, but even before the war, his strength had already begun to decline due to increasing problems with diabetes. In 1938, he suffered a light stroke, which led to further decline in his mental powers and control: with the tension of the war years, this was reflected in cautious and sometimes anxious behavior. In January 1945 he became seriously ill: at the hospital in Tilburg he was diagnosed as having an inoperable tumor. He died on February 16 and was buried in the cemetery of his beloved Koningshoeven Abbey on February 19,[118] without ever hearing the definitive report of the death of the Löb brothers.

The leadership of the Trappistines developed in the opposite direction. As Dom Simon's strength continued to decline, Abbess Gertrudis adopted an increasingly independent attitude in relation to him. She enjoyed a great respect in the community and was re-elected abbess several times. In 1958 she resigned for health reasons, continuing to live in Koningsoord as an ordinary nun until her death in 1970.[119] How she reacted in 1950 when she received the report that the Löb sisters had already been murdered in 1942 is not known.

4. The Intrigues Surrounding Veronica

When the police arrived early in the morning of Sunday, August 2, 1942, the infirmarian, Sr. Cecilia Drabbe, noticed that Sr. Veronica (Wies) was not in her room in the infirmary. At the instructions of

118. Ako, Ambrosius Zonneveld, "In Memoriam Dom Simon Dubuisson," conferences given in Berkel (later revised), manuscript; "Special memories which the sisters of Koningsoord have of our Father and Founder, Dom Simon Dubuisson," manuscript; Terstegge, *Honderd jaar Koningshoeven* [100 years Koningshoeven], 129.

119. Delfgaauw, In Memoriam: Gertrude Demarrez.

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the abbess, who probably expected the monastery to be searched, Sr. Veronica had been moved elsewhere in the monastery. It is not clear whether the abbess intended to hide her and, in so doing, prevent her being taken. Her name was on the list which the policemen had with them, just like the names of both of her sisters. Later, it was noted in their report that she was too sick to accompany them.[120] Sr. Veronica had rheumatism, and she was probably already beginning to suffer from the early stages of tuberculosis. Later, when the others had been taken away, she returned to her room in the infirmary, just as usual.

A few weeks later, on August 27, Sr. Veronica received a call-up notice, signed by Rouppe van der Voort, mayor of the villages of Berkel and Enschot, ordering her to appear the next day at the police station in the town hall. From there she would be taken to the assembly point located at the monastery of the JMJ sisters on Emmaplein in 's-Hertogenbosch, and then taken by train to Camp Westerbork, along with other Jews from various places in North Brabant. On August 28, Veronica did go to 's-Hertogenbosch, accompanied by the village constable, G. Delleman.[121]

Several members of the Jewish Council of 's-Hertogenbosch witnessed her arrival in the section of the monastery which was serving as the assembly point. One of them, Max Cahen, wrote later in his memoirs:

> While we were standing there by the school building, we saw a strange sight approaching us: a white nun led by a constable. The nun turned out to be a Trappistine sister Loeb from the strictly enclosed monastery "Koningshoeve" in Berkel-Enschot. On August 5, three Trappist brothers from Moergestel and two sisters from Koningshoeve had been deported, but she had been sick at the time. The entire family had been baptized as children in the Dutch East

120. Documentation, De Jaeger, Tilburg police log.
121. Ako file 470.

> Indies. One sister was married to a teacher who taught at the school in Drunen or Nieuwkuik.[122]

In retrospect, Cahen was surprised at the way the abbess of Koningsoord and the mayor of Berkel and Enschot handled the situation:

> After being seriously warned by the facts which had come to light following the events of August 5, neither the mayor nor the Mother Superior had had the courage to declare, or had even thought of officially declaring, the remaining Loeb sister dead, and this would have involved no risk at all in the completely enclosed Trappistine monastery.
>
> So there she stood, with the Star affixed to the sleeve of her habit. While the constable was reporting her arrival, De Winter sent me over to her with the assignment to see that she disappeared as quickly as possible out of sight of the SD men [Security Service].

Cahen took Veronica to the superior of the monastery and asked if she might be allowed to wait in their refectory for a while. This request led to much consternation: they were "afraid of being contaminated"—as Cahen remarked cynically—since Sr. Veronica belonged to a much stricter order. Nonetheless, he did succeed in keeping her out of sight of the SD. Then Ies de Winter,[123] who was

122. *Memoires* of M. Cahen, 1939–1945. Part 1 was written by the author for the occasion of his seventieth birthday on September 26, 1975. Part 2 includes letters to his son David following a visit to Auschwitz in 1972, as well as a commentary on the memoirs by Mr. H. Holla. At the time of our research, this typed manuscript was in the possession of the Cahen family in Vught. Since then, it has been donated to the municipal archives of 's-Hertogenbosch. Before the war, the Cahen family had owned a stationery business in 's-Hertogenbosch. This particular description by Cahen includes several factual inaccuracies; in addition, he clearly made use of information which he had acquired later.

123. The De Winter family ran a wholesale textile business. Cahen and De

also a member of the Jewish Council, succeeded in talking the local SD Chief Sammel into letting her go free, referring to her as Miss Loeb—explicitly not a nun—who was also present in the monastery.

Just before she received permission to return to Berkel and Enschot, Veronica briefly met her brother Hans. He had been arrested while trying to flee the Netherlands, had been interned in the hostage camp in Haaren, and had then been brought to 's-Hertogenbosch, with the intention of having him deported to Camp Westerbork. Cahen noted the following in his memoirs:

> Sr. Loeb had another surprise. In addition to the Jews who were being deported, there were also a number of Jewish prisoners from the Breda prison who were being held for offenses against the ordinances of the Occupying Power, and on whose behalf the Jewish Council could not intervene. These included the youngest brother in the Loeb family, the only one who wasn't a monk. His sister hadn't seen him since she had entered the monastery, so there was also joy after that very brief reunion.

Constable Delleman took Veronica back to Koningsoord. It was not until the beginning of January 1943 that Sr. Agatha, on the abbess' behalf, notified the bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch that Sr. Veronica had once again been called up in October 1942.[124] She had had to appear at the Central Office in Amsterdam on October 16, for an examination to determine if she could be considered eligible

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Winter belonged to the Jewish industrialist families of 's-Hertogenbosch. See R. Weissmann, "Het leven aan hen ontnomen. Joods 's-Hertogenbosch tijdens de bezetting" [Life taken away from them: Jewish 's-Hertogenbosch during the occupation], in R. Kok, et al., '*Wegens bijzondereomstandigheden . . .' 's-Hertogenbosch in bezettingstijd 1940–1944* [Due to special circumstances: 's-Hertogenbosch during the time of occupation, 1940–1944] (Alphen aan de Maas, 2008), 263–83.

124. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Trappistines, box 300. Letter, January 7, 1943.

for employment.[125] The day before, on October 15, two soldiers had called at the monastery to take Sr. Veronica to see Dr. Taminiau (the general physician for both monasteries) for a medical examination. Taminiau declared her unfit but, just to be sure, he himself took her to 's-Hertogenbosch by car, where she was once again examined and once again declared unfit. She was taken to Amsterdam anyway, under escort of two soldiers, where she was declared "freigestellt" [exempt] and could immediately return home.[126] Veronica's call-up was one of a great many call-ups of Jews who had to be approved for employment. Her youngest sister, Paula, received a similar call-up, but she did not respond to the summons, as we will see later.

On March 22, 1943, Sr. Veronica received another call-up to report[127] and, despite her illness, she traveled to Amsterdam once again. The abbess let the bishop know about this, requesting help to ensure Veronica's safety:

> After having taken note of the new provisions regarding the Jews, Reverend Mother Abbess would once again like to take advantage of all possible measures to ensure the safety of Sr. M. Veronica (Louise Löb).[128]

The abbess was aware of what the bishops had written on February 17, 1943, in reaction to the pursuit of Jewish students. In a pulpit announcement, the bishops had declared in no uncertain terms that they were affronted by the fact that Dutch citizens were being demanded to cooperate in implementing the arrest and deportation of Jews. The bishops put it quite clearly in the following message:

125. Call-up, October 14, 1942, Ako file 470.

126. Annals of Koningsoord Abbey, 23.

127. Ako file 470.

128. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Trappistines, box 300. Letter, March 31, 1943.

> Beloved Faithful, We are aware of the extent of the moral dilemma faced by persons in these circumstances. So to remove all doubts and uncertainties on this point, we emphatically declare that cooperation in this matter is prohibited in conscience. Should your refusal to cooperate demand sacrifices on your part, then be strong, steadfast in the knowledge that you are doing your duty for God and humanity.[129]

What is not clear at the moment is precisely what the abbess meant by "ensure the safety" of Sr. Veronica, and what she actually wanted from the bishop:

> Since she's been suffering from lung problems for a long time, and she's just had a bad case of bronchitis, which is nowhere near being healed yet, the Doctor would like her to be X-rayed, hoping that she might be able to overcome the difficulties more easily with such genuine evidence.[130]

So her intention was to arrange for the sick sister to receive a definitive exemption. Apparently, the abbess never thought of securing a falsified certificate of sickness. She obediently pursued the formal path and asked the bishop—this time in advance—for permission for Sr. Veronica to leave the enclosure so she could go to the hospital, as well as "just in case she might have to go to the concentration camp in Vught." From this, it can be deduced that the abbess never even considered doing everything to preserve Sr. Veronica from deportation.

Bishop Mutsaerts responded by return mail,[131] agreeing to permit her to leave the enclosure to go to the hospital, but "We extend no

129. Stokman, *Het verzet* [The Opposition], 265–68. The citation appears on 267.

130. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Trappistines, box 300. Letter, March 31, 1943.

131. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Trappistines, box 300. Letter, April 1, 1943.

permission for her to leave the enclosure to go to Vught because the command issued by the Occupying Power is unjust." Here he was responding quite formally. As bishop, he could not legitimate a coercive measure taken by the occupying forces by extending his permission. Then he gave the abbess the following advice, which was characteristic of his anxiously cautious position:

> In that case [if she should be summoned to Vught, Hans Evers and Peter Steffen], you can let her go without further ado, due to coercion being exerted, or to avoid a greater evil for her or for the monastic community.

This was certainly no incentive to courageous resistance or simple refusal to cooperate with the German call-ups to persecute Jews. In fact, Bishop Mutsaerts's advice diverged from what the more principled Archbishop De Jong had stated on behalf of the Dutch Bishops' Conference, regarding noncooperation with German demands to hand over persons as a matter of conscience.

Next the abbess went straight to Adjutant F. Bühner in The Hague, with the request to leave the seriously ill Sr. Veronica in peace, in view of the outcome of her visit to the Central Office in Amsterdam, that had declared *vom Arbeitseinsatz freigestellt no. 20830* [labor exemption no. 20830].[132]

Nonetheless, a few days later Sr. Veronica received the call-up to report to Camp Westerbork on April 10, 1943, no later than noon. This was a general call-up which made a distinction between healthy Jews and sick Jews: healthy Jews who were fit for work had to report to Camp Vught; sick Jews and those unfit for work had to report to Camp Westerbork.[133] Those who were of the opinion that they really were not able to travel had to report to the mayor, who was head of the local police. The following day Sr. Veronica received a travel permit, which the mayor had sent her, along with

132. Ako file 470, with handwritten rough draft.

133. Ako file 470, letter, April 7, 1943.

a deposition in German that she was to turn in when she arrived in Camp Westerbork.[134]

On April 9, the abbess informed Attorney Minderop that Sr. Veronica had to leave the monastery at 9:30 a.m. to go to Westerbork.[135] She was accompanied by Theo Delleman, the son of Constable G. Delleman. By leaving a day earlier, she would at least arrive at the camp on time. Sr. Veronica was in Westerbork for about a week, and while there she met other members of her extended family: Aunt Johanna and her husband, Alex Paradies, who had been picked up in Amsterdam earlier;[136] and Lucie, the wife of her cousin Richard Bromberg. How Veronica got through the days she spent in the camp is not known. The only thing that is certain is that she helped with the nursing in the camp infirmary. On April 14, she received a discharge notice from the commander of the camp, which meant she could leave on April 17. However, she could not return to Koningsoord. Instead, she had to go to Amsterdam and report back to the Central Office. During her trip to the capitol city, Sr. Veronica was accompanied by Rie Delleman, a niece of Constable G. Delleman of Berkel.[137] Rie worked with the underground in Groningen and had received the assignment to accompany Sr. Veronica through a series of intermediaries,[138] not knowing that Veronica had

134. Ako file 470, letter, April 8, 1943.

135. Ako file 430, letter, April 9, 1943.

136. P. Steffen's interview with his son, Gerard Paradies, in Amsterdam on December 15, 2000. Johanna and Alex died in Sobibor on April 30, 1943.

137. Notes from the conversation which P. Steffen had with Mrs. F. ten Pas-Delleman in Amsterdam on February 18, 2001.

138. This assignment had come from Karel van der Putt, who was part of the underground in North Brabant. Karel Lodewijk Hendrik (Harrie) van der Putt (born in Stratum on December 17, 1887; died in Bergen-Belsen in March 1945), was a member of the Dutch House of Representatives from 1933 through 1939, representing the Roman Catholic National Party. His congressional activities were primarily related to economic, financial, and water management issues. He was a member of the standing committee for

tuberculosis. The two of them visited Veronica's cousin Frits and his wife Truus Paradies-Klene, who were living in Amsterdam. She could relay greetings from Uncle Alex and Aunt Johanna and ask that the newspaper be forwarded to Westerbork. Rie returned to Groningen that same day by train, while Veronica reported back to the Central Office and was then allowed to return to Koningsoord with a temporary dispensation.[139]

On April 20, when Sr. Veronica had been back in the monastery for a few days, the abbess once again asked Bishop Mutsaerts (in retrospect) for permission for her to leave the enclosure.[140] She mentioned a confidential letter she had received from Attorney Minderop on April 13, in which he had made it quite clear to her that, as advocate for the Catholic Jews, he felt he had been passed over and, what was more serious, that she had allowed Sr. Veronica to go to Westerbork in spite of very clear episcopal guidelines to the contrary. In addressing the bishop, the abbess made it seem as if she were only then being informed of a "Commission" which had been called into existence by the Bishops' Conference to promote the interests of Catholic Jews (by which she meant Minderop's mediation). The abbess indicated that she had tried to arrange for Sr. Veronica's release, taking advantage of the help offered by another mediator (Jos van Dijk), not realizing that she would have done better by going through Attorney Minderop. The moral reproach

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consultation regarding matters related to trade policy. Later, from June 1, 1939, until July 1944, he was mayor of Geldrop. During his term as mayor, he refused to identify citizens of Geldrop who should have been sent to Zeeland for trench work. On Thursday, July 6, 1944, he and a number of colleagues (including Manders from Leende; Serraris from Heeze; Smulders from Oost-, West-, and Middelbeers; and Magnee from Bergeyk) were taken to the concentration camp in Vught, and later to Germany. He ended up in Bergen-Belsen, where he died in March 1945.

139. Ako file 470. Truus Paradies-Klene, War journal, manuscript.

140. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Trappistines, box 300. Letter, April 20, 1943.

which she had received from Minderop had placed her in a moral dilemma: namely, that she had cooperated with the German persecution of the Jews by allowing Sr. Veronica to go. Now she passed the responsibility on to Bishop Mutsaerts, at least partially, by pointing out his response to the question she had posed him earlier: he had said she could allow Sr. Veronica to go.

From Minderop's letter, the abbess had understood that she had done wrong by acting as she had; now she was turning to the bishop, asking advice as to what she should do to make reparation for the evil which had been effected, as far as that might be possible. Furthermore, she was naturally grateful to be able to report that, since then, Sr. Veronica was once again back in the monastery.

In the explanation which she gave Attorney Minderop, the abbess apologized, expressing her sorrow and regret for what she had done:[141]

> Yesterday afternoon, to our great joy, Sr. Löb returned to our midst. I would sincerely like to thank you for all you did to acquire her freedom, and what you subsequently have done, and are probably still doing, to get her out of the camp.
>
> I am also very grateful for the letter which I was privileged to receive from you last week, but I am so very sorry to learn that I have been the cause of scandal and disedification by allowing the sister to go. Will you forgive me for having made such a bad impression on you?
>
> If we had only known that the best way of acquiring Sr. Veronica's freedom was to be found so close at hand, we would have certainly appealed directly to you. But only when I read your letter did I realize that our honorable Episcopate had arranged something [by this she meant:

141. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, War Archives, Box 3: Catholic Jews, letter, April 20, 1943. The way the abbess expressed herself in this letter is quite striking and, for that reason, we provide an extensive citation.

the intermediary for Catholic Jews, Hans Evers and Peter Steffen], and now I'm still wondering if Rev. Fr. Van Hout[142] might not have been calling from Vught on Tuesday, April 6, while we assumed that his call came from the bishop's residence in 's-Hertogenbosch.

From the moment we heard of the new provisions concerning the Jews, a certain gentleman who is genuinely interested in our community has been trying everything possible to obtain an exemption for our sister, either in The Hague or in Amsterdam. The final say would have to come from Amsterdam (Central Office for Emigration), which did occur on Thursday afternoon, April 8, and it was negative.

Since the letter, addressed to the sister, declared that she had to be in Westerbork before noon on Saturday, April 10, she had to leave here on Friday, early in the day, in order to arrive there on time. For that reason, we took the liberty of telephoning Monsignor [the bishop, Hans Evers-Peter Steffen], to find out if there was anything else, as a result of the telephone call from Rev. Fr. V. Hout. Nothing had come, and whenever they might hear anything, they would warn us. That gave us the impression that there was no longer any hope, and that the only thing we could do was to act according to what Monsignor had written on April 1: "We extend no permission for her to leave the enclosure to go to Vught [it was not yet known that she would have to go to Westerbork, Hans Evers-Peter Steffen] because the command issued by the Occupying Power is unjust. In that case, you can let her go without further ado, due to coercion being exerted, or to avoid a greater evil for her or for the monastic community."

In retrospect, we realize that we should have asked if the sister simply had to wait, even if that meant being liable to the consequences of arriving too late at the camp.

142. He was the assistant secretary of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch.

> But anyway, at the time we didn't know anything at all about your beautiful work, and we thought that Rev. Fr. Van Hout's efforts were also quite routine, and that they wouldn't have any more success than what had already been attempted.
>
> If anything else happens, then we will certainly go straight to you, Sir, and may I ask you if there's perhaps anything else I should know at the moment, or which I would be allowed to know, which might be to our advantage?
>
> In any case, only Our Lord can repay you for what you have done for Sr. Veronica, and we will continue to ask Him to deem to do so abundantly.
>
> One of these days, may I please receive a bill for all the expenses which you have incurred while settling this affair? And please let me know whenever I might be able to do a favor for you in exchange.
>
> Once again, assured of Sr. Veronica's deep gratitude, and that of all of us, Sir, with my most sincere regards, signed Sr. M. Gertrudis, OCSO, Abbess.
>
> (P. S. May I ask you to excuse my poor Dutch? I still have so little command of that language.)[143]

It remains unclear whether the abbess really did act in such ignorance—as she made it seem—or whether she really did know about the episcopal directives but allowed a cautious obedience to play a too dominant role in her actions.

Minderop had sent a copy of his letter to the abbess, along with his own comments, to Karel van der Putt, the mayor of Geldrop, who was involved with the resistance movement and had already been working for the interests of Catholic Jews for quite a while. Minderop had initially telephoned Van der Putt on April 4, asking

143. Is this postscript just a polite phrase, or does it really say something about the abbess' limited ability to communicate? We suspect the latter, for the abbess often made use of one of the other sisters as her secretary.

him to help by interceding with Adjutant Bühner and others in The Hague, so that Sr. Veronica would not be required to go to Westerbork. In response, Van der Putt saw Adjutant Bühner on April 10 and succeeded in acquiring an exemption for Veronica, who was already in Westerbork. When the abbess realized that Van der Putt had put forth so much effort for them, she sent him a box of mushrooms grown in the monastery as an expression of gratitude.[144] With a touch of sarcasm, Minderop wrote: "Well, for us, there's at least one advantage: we won't have to pray for the rest of our lives; that nun will certainly see to it that we aren't subjected to the 'Westerbork of the next world' [by which he meant 'hell,' Hans Evers-Peter Steffen]."[145]

Minderop had spoken to Mayor Rouppe van der Voort by telephone the previous Sunday, and now he also sent him a copy of his letter to the abbess of April 13. This mayor was of the opinion "that the bishops' standpoint had not been clearly enough expressed." With undisguised sarcasm, Minderop noted in his letter to Van der Putt: "He certainly hadn't been to church on that particular Sunday." It was quite clear that Minderop did not think very much of this mayor, who cooperated with the occupying forces.

According to Minderop, Archbishop De Jong was "more powerful" in general than Bishop Mutsaerts. By that he meant that De Jong was more explicit, seeing it as a matter of principle, and more courageous in the face of the Germans. In his letter to Van der Putt, Minderop cited the way in which Bishop Mutsaerts had responded to the abbess' questions, and how he had left her in limbo. The danger was that the abbess would not pick up the nuance that she should not ask the bishop such questions, but should rather go ahead and act according to her own conscience, and that then "such things as in this present case" could happen.

After consulting with Van der Putt, Minderop wrote Bishop Mutsaerts, letting him know how his advice of April 1 had been

144. Archives, Van der Putt, file 531, letter, May 14, 1943.

145. Archives, Van der Putt, letter, Minderop, April 13, 1943.

interpreted by the abbess. In response, Mutsaerts let the abbess know that, as far as he was concerned, it only had to do with a formal decision according to canon law: namely, a bishop is not authorized to give permission to leave the enclosure if this occurs due to coercion by occupying forces. In order to make everything perfectly clear, the bishop now formulated his intended message quite explicitly, namely:

> It was really never our intention for the sister actually to comply with this command [to leave the enclosure because of a call-up by occupying forces, Hans Evers-Peter Steffen].[146]

Nonetheless, having said that, he was still of the opinion that it would be legitimate to submit to the commands of the occupying forces whenever it might be in the interests of the monastery in general or the individual sister in particular.[147] Holding this position, Mutsaerts continued to straddle the fence.

Since Minderop really wanted to know how things were in Westerbork, he asked the abbess if Sr. Veronica would like to put her experiences in writing.[148] He then sent her report to Archbishop De Jong and the other bishops:

> There's one place in Westerbork where the treatment is really bad. Whenever someone enters W., they have to pass through this section to turn in all their money and valuables, and this is accompanied by threats, the crudest insults, and even severe mistreatment. Beyond that, treatment in the camp is good, everything being handled and regulated by the Jews themselves. Housing in the barracks is the most miserable possible with about three hundred to five hundred persons in one barrack. The beds are very uncomfortable

146. Ako, letter, Msgr. Mutsaerts to the abbess, April 29, 1943.

147. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Trappistines, box 300.

148. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, War Archives, Box 3: Catholic Jews. Letter, abbess to Minderop, April 28, 1943.

and extremely dirty. You can't sit on the beds, since they are stacked three high and placed too close together. There are very few places where one can sit down—it's swarming with vermin. All one's baggage has to be kept on the beds: one has to sleep around it or on top of it. The food is rather good, but there's not enough. The ones who don't receive any packages suffer from hunger. The Catholics complain that they generally don't receive any packages. Why is that? . . . You're always allowed to send packages with food and whatever else you might want to send. On the outside of the package itself, you should place the name of the person to whom you are sending it, along with their date of birth and their barrack number.

The Jews in Camp W. are allowed to write every two weeks. The mutual relationships are very good. It's impossible to sleep at night, everything is blacked out and the lights are left on; after a while the air becomes unbearably close with five hundred people in one barrack. The children are crying, people are continually talking and walking around. And a new transport is often brought in during the night.

The prisoners become totally enervated due to the unhealthy living, the excessive work, and the persistent anxiety of being transported to Poland. I experienced one of those transports, about 5:00 a.m. when everything was still dark. The names of those who will be put on transport are called out and, since they prefer to separate children from their parents, the wailing and screaming is unbearable.

Most of them are plucky, stouthearted, and calm, and no one sheds a tear when it's time to leave. Cattle cars are used for the actual transports: sixty-five persons, men, women, the sick, children, all stuffed into one car together. There's only a little straw to sit on. At present, there are two transports of two thousand persons leaving W. each week. The sick and the elderly are at the top of the list. There are thousands

> of people in W. who are older than seventy, eighty, ninety years, blind, lame, disabled, but nonetheless, they're put on transport.
>
> At present there are about fifteen thousand Jews in Camp W.; about five die each day, and the bodies are immediately picked up and cremated.
>
> It's said that members of the Jewish Council are working against the Catholic Jews in the camp in every possible way, making life difficult for them. The Protestants have their own barrack, nice and neat, with tables and chairs and an adjacent kitchenette. The Catholics complain about all kinds of mistreatment and opposition.[149]

In the meantime, Sr. Veronica's health continued to decline. She had a high fever, had to stay in bed, and was unable to receive visitors.[150] She could write letters though: to her cousin, Lucie Bromberg, and her brother-in-law, Harrie van Broekhoven.[151]

Veronica received another call-up on July 10, 1943, this time to report to Camp Vught, but nothing further came of this.[152] On July 17, the mayor of Berkel and Enschot did submit a request to those in charge of the SS and the police in The Hague, in an effort to obtain a "Provincial Approval" for Louise Löb, who could not travel due to the fact that she suffered from tuberculosis and had a bad case of pneumonia.[153]

At the end of July, Sr. Veronica received a note from Westerbork, from Gerrit Tak, letting her know that his wife, Fanny Tak-Kanarek, had given birth to a daughter whom they had named Henriette

149. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, War Archives, Box 3: Catholic Jews. Letter, May 1, 1943.

150. Ako file 430. June 17, 1943. Abbess to Minderop.

151. Ako file 430. She responded to letters from Lucie Bromberg on July 7 and July 19.

152. Annals of Koningsoord Abbey, 24.

153. Archives, K. van der Putt, file 531, file Louise Löb.

Charlotte. Both mother and child were doing well. Veronica had met Fanny Tak when they were both staying in the same barrack. She asked Harrie van Broekhoven to help these "poor wretches" by sending them goods and supplies.[154] It is not known if Sr. Veronica also received word that the Tak family was put on transport to Auschwitz on September 7, 1943. The twenty-year-old Fanny and her baby daughter were sent directly to the gas chambers when they arrived on September 10. Gerrit Tak was sent to work, but he died on March 31, 1944, at twenty-four years of age.[155]

At the beginning of August 1943, Veronica received a second call-up to go to Westerbork.[156] Her health had continued to decline and for that reason she preferred not to receive guests anymore. By now the abbess had reached the point of no longer cooperating with the occupying forces' demands and call-ups when it concerned the seriously ill Sr. Veronica. The abbess went into action, sending a telegram that very same day to Jan van Broekhoven, Harrie's brother, who was a municipal official in Oisterwijk, with the request: "Could you stop by briefly today?" He would have to help Veronica go underground, and to do that she would need false identification papers.[157] With the help of his brother Jos, who worked for the police department in Goirle, he saw to it that Sr. Veronica was able to go underground.

Finding a suitable underground address turned out to be not so simple. It had been agreed that a Woman of Nazareth,[158] who was staying in the monastery guest house, would take Sr. Veronica to Oisterwijk by bus. However, things went wrong and she ended up

154. Ako file 430.

155. *In Memoriam*, The Hague, 1995, 732.

156. Annals of Koningsoord Abbey, 24.

157. Ako file 430.

158. Women of Nazareth: a lay movement founded in 1921 by J. van Ginneken, with its primary purpose being to contribute to the "moral uplifting" of girls who worked in factories. This group is also known as The Grail movement.

spending the night in the church in Berkel. The next day a farmer took Veronica to Oisterwijk, where she spent one day with the Franciscan sisters who ran a hospital that had a separate ward for tuberculosis patients.[159] Deetje had already been living with these same sisters for several years as a boarding school student. Veronica left there the following day for an address which has always remained unknown. In the meantime, at Koningsoord, the abbess had told the sisters during chapter that Sr. Veronica had permission from the bishop to remain underground until after the war.[160] She gave no further information about where Veronica was staying. That same day the abbess formally asked Bishop Mutsaerts—once again in retrospect—for permission for Sr. Veronica to remain outside the enclosure until after the war:[161]

> Everyone who is knowledgeable about this situation advises me to ask Your Excellency if you wouldn't allow our sister to remain where she is until after the war, or at least until a time when all danger for her is past, given the fact that we've been able to hide her in an especially satisfying way. Perhaps it would be useful for Your Excellency to be aware of one more particularity, namely, that the charitable people who are caring for our sister are doing this for God, that is, completely free of charge.

She also let the bishop know that she had just learned that the mayor of Geldrop, Karel van der Putt, "had once again obtained freedom for Mother Veronica yesterday." Veronica was now in the

159. According to A. van den Oord and W. van Oosterhout, *Berkel-Enschot-Heukelom, drie zielen en één bestuurlijk hart, Berkel-Enschot 1996* [Berkel-Enschot-Heukelom, three souls and one administrative heart, Berkel-Enschot 1996], 153–54. They do not give detailed information about their sources.

160. Annals of Koningsoord Abbey, 24. Chapter announcements for August 20, 1943.

161. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Trappistines, box 300. Letter, August 20, 1943.

hands of registered nurses whom the abbess presumed were also members of a religious order. Apparently this was an important point for both the abbess and the bishop. This was now the sixth time that Sr. Veronica had had to leave the enclosure.

In addition, the abbess also formally asked the bishop how Sr. Veronica would be able to participate in the abbatial election on September 5 if she were underground. It is not really clear how—or even if—the bishop responded. Presumably he did approve of the sister's remaining underground, but considering his very cautious nature, he would not have put this permission in writing, for fear of reprisals from the occupying forces if such an act of resistance should ever come to light.

The abbess also thanked Mayor Van der Putt for his having been able to free Sr. Veronica once again, and that on Tuesday he "had already warned us of the danger threatening us; that was very advantageous for us."[162] She sent him another box of mushrooms and assured him that the sisters were praying ardently for him, for his sick son, and for the people he was trying to help. She had heard that Van der Putt himself was also being threatened because of his resistance activities. In veiled terms she also wrote of Sr. Veronica's going underground: "As far as the rest is concerned, I'm ready to tell you everything in person, but I'd rather not do so in writing. You understand why, don't you?"[163]

The abbess also contacted Attorney Minderop again, telling him that Sr. Veronica had been called up on August 17 and had gone underground the next day, at a location unknown to the abbess. In a letter dated August 24, 1943, she spoke in detail about the questions of conscience with which he had confronted her, now even daring to doubt Bishop Mutsaerts's own advice:[164]

162. Archives, Van der Putt, file 531, Louise Löb, August 20, 1943.

163. Archives, Van der Putt, letter, August 30, 1943.

164. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, War Archives, Box 3: Catholic Jews. Letter, abbess to Minderop, August 24, 1943.

> Sir,
> Once again I would like to thank you for taking the step you personally took in order to obtain information about Sr. Veronica.
>
> I'm terribly sorry that I wasn't sufficiently informed at the time regarding how I should have reacted. In response to your questions from yesterday, I think I understand now that I shouldn't even have let the two sisters leave on August 2, 1942; rather, I should have refused, as long as the police themselves didn't take them out of the enclosure. And then perhaps even the German police [instead of the Dutch police who actually came to pick up the sisters on that particular August 2, Hans Evers-Peter Steffen].
>
> At a certain point last week the thought occurred to me that the community could have suffered as a result of what we did with Sr. Veronica, and I asked myself if I would be to blame for not having sacrificed her in order to save the community, given the fact that the police had actually come to pick her up.

This was a serious moral dilemma for M. Gertrudis, and she asked Minderop for advice:

> You would really be doing me a big favor, Sir, if you would once again let me know what would be the proper way to act in these situations. Refusing to allow the sister to leave, as long as the police are only making demands and threats at the gatehouse of the enclosure? And then allowing her to go only if the police force their way into the enclosure and take the sister themselves? Does it make any difference whether it's the German police or the Dutch police?
>
> After you left, I was still reflecting on the fact that, if I would be asked, it would be difficult for me to say that Sr. Veronica had left for Westerbork, since the constable himself had telephoned and written someone in 's-Hertogenbosch

> to say that she was no longer here when he came to pick her up the second time, but that she had fled.
> Signed, Sr. M. Gertrudis

Minderop freed the abbess from the moral burden and doubts she bore about the way she had handled the deportation of Sr. Hedwigis, Sr. Theresia, and Lisamaria Meirowsky. The abbess also blamed herself for not having protected Sr. Veronica sufficiently.[165] According to Minderop, the abbess was dependent on the attitude taken by the local authorities (by this, he meant the mayor and the police especially), who had the choice of strictly following the decrees of the occupying forces or of trying to save people's lives. The abbess would have received little support from the local authorities in Berkel-Enschot (meaning the mayor, Rouppe van der Voort). On that particular August 2, 1942, according to Attorney Minderop, there were not yet any prescriptions from the bishops regarding whether or not one had an obligation in conscience to cooperate with the German call-ups to hand over people. The actions of the occupying forces had come as a complete surprise, with the result that people in many other parts of the Netherlands had acted the same as Abbess Demarrez had. So in this regard, Minderop exonerated her. He also rescinded his earlier reproach regarding how she had acted in Sr. Veronica's case. In his initial letter, he had rather sharply drawn her attention to the bishops' prescriptions and their moral weight; but now he shifted the responsibility primarily to the local authorities who "had been too zealous, thinking more of their own self-preservation than of that of their fellow human beings." In fact, he accused the mayor and the police of collaborating with the occupying forces. Now Minderop admitted that the abbess would surely have acted differently if she had been given a timely warning, but the abbess had never received such a warning.

165. Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, War Archives, Box 3: Catholic Jews. Letter, Minderop to the abbess, September 1, 1943.

The abbess showed that she was truly grateful for Minderop's mediation, even emphasizing her gratitude by sending him boxes of mushrooms every now and then. Sr. Veronica's time underground did not pass without problems. After having spent about fifteen months at an unknown address somewhere in the area around Oisterwijk, she suddenly appeared at the gate of the monastery, early in the morning of December 31, 1943. She no longer felt safe at the address where she had been hiding. She had spent one night in the Franciscan monastery in Oisterwijk, and then Jan van Broekhoven (the earlier mentioned brother of Harrie and Jos) had picked her up and brought her back to the monastery.[166]

About a month later, she left again to go underground. From the monastery, she went to stay with Mrs. E. Verschuuren-van Besouw, whose son Piet then took her, in lay clothing, riding on the back of his bicycle, to Saint Elisabeth Hospital in Tilburg. They had to stop several times along the way because the bicycle trip was really too much for Sr. Veronica. She did have false identification papers (under the name of Johanna Maas), which the municipal official G. Vermeulen had provided. He and Mrs. Verschuuren had also contacted Dr. F. van Buchem, the physician director of Saint Elisabeth Hospital, who decided to place Sr. Veronica in the ward for patients with tuberculosis—the Germans would never come there for fear of contamination.[167]

Six months later, it was clear that Sr. Veronica was incurably ill. If she were to die in the hospital, it would attract attention and the Germans might instigate an investigation. Sr. Veronica herself also indicated that she wanted to return to the monastery, to her "home," so she could die there. At 9:00 in the evening on July 21, 1944, she was secretly brought back to the monastery in a car belonging to

166. Annals of Koningsoord Abbey, 25.

167. Annals of Koningsoord Abbey, 25; Ako file 473. In 1997, G. Vermeulen gave a lecture to the community of Koningsoord in which he presented a somewhat different picture, attributing a more important role to himself.

the Red Cross, accompanied by Antonia Geels and Maria-Josephina van der Maden, two nurses who were both Sisters of Charity from Tilburg.[168] She was placed in the infirmary of the monastery, where she died on August 1, 1944, two years after her two sisters had been taken away. Her youngest sister, Paula, did not attend the funeral on August 3. She did know that Veronica had died, but she did not dare leave her underground address in Nijmegen to travel to Berkel-Enschot. Her husband, Harrie, was at the funeral though.

5. The Internment of Hans

When it was made compulsory to wear the yellow Star of David in May 1942, Hans Löb went underground and was received charitably by Abbot Pius Strijbosch in Lilbosch Abbey, the Trappist monastery in Echt. There were others who were also living underground in this monastery, as well as some German monks. How these latter stood in relation to the occupying forces was not really certain: presumably there were some traitors among them. On July 16, Abbot Strijbosch was picked up, taken hostage, and sent to Haaren, where the major seminary of the diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch had been seized and turned into a political prison. From then on, Hans's confessor, Fr. Hieronymus Beiering, was worried about Hans.[169]

Hans himself did not really trust the situation as it was in Echt, so he decided to leave the monastery, which he did on August 4, 1942, at 5:00 in the morning. First of all, he wanted to go to Tilburg and Berkel to visit his brothers and sisters before fleeing further to France, where he hoped to be able to reach the farm owned by one of the Van den Bogaard boys,[170] though he himself had doubts about the

168. Annals, 26.

169. Ako file 430, letter, Hieronymus Beiering to Leo van Dijk, January 25, 1947.

170. Sr. Gerarda van den Bogaard thought that Hans was planning to go see her brother Frits, who had a farm in Gomets-la-Ville, near Paris; but she had

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chances of this plan succeeding.[171] When Hans left Echt, he was not aware of the fact that his brothers and two sisters had already been picked up. He arrived at Koningsoord late that same evening, where Sr. Hubertina Lenssen received him.[172] It goes without saying that he then learned what had happened to his siblings. Since he did not want to endanger the sisters of Koningsoord any further, he left for Belgium early in the morning of August 6.[173] On August 7, while still underway, he was taken prisoner and brought to the hostage camp in Haaren, where he was given registration number 491. There he met Abbot Strijbosch, who let the monks in Echt know that Hans was at the seminary, namely, in Haaren.

On August 28, at 7:00 in the evening, Hans was taken to 's-Hertogenbosch, which is where the meeting with his sister Veronica took place, described above. That same day he was put on transport to Westerbork. The next day, the Central Office in Amsterdam telephoned the Trappist monastery in Echt, requesting that winter clothing for Hans Löb be delivered to Camp Westerbork.[174] On August 30, two of the monastery's employees did take clothing to Westerbork, but they did not speak to Hans himself. Constable G. Delleman of Berkel was able to speak with Hans in the camp, learning from Hans himself that he would be put on transport to "the East" the following day.[175]

On August 31, Hans was indeed put on transport, in a train carrying 560 persons, the sixteenth transport leaving Westerbork with Auschwitz as its destination. On September 1, the train stopped in

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also heard a story about Hans's wanting to flee to a monastery in France. Documentation, P. Steffen, letter, Sr. Gerarda van den Bogaard to Abbess Benedict Thissen, Chimay, July 18, 1999.

171. According to Hieronymus Beiering in his letter to Leo van Dijk.

172. Ako file 486, Sr. Hubertina Lenssen, In memoriam Hans Löb.

173. Ibid.

174. Ako file 430, letter, Hieronymus Beiering to Van Dijk.

175. Ako file 443, letter, G. Delleman to Mère Gertrudis, January 22, 1946.

Cosel, where all the men between fifteen and fifty years of age were taken off.[176]

Hans's experience was probably the same as that of Ernest Koenig, which he later described as follows:

> the train from Drancy to Auschwitz stopped along an open field, where all the men between fifteen and fifty years of age had to get off the train. Outside stood three rows of SS men with guns, whips, and sticks. The group was encircled and beaten, and the agonizing cries of the women and children who had been separated from their men could be heard from the train. The men and boys were then loaded into trucks and taken to a camp near the town of Cosel.[177]

A little later, Hans Löb and Ernest Koenig both became part of the so-called Cosel Group, which included about thirty-five hundred Dutch Jews who had come from Westerbork.[178] There had been work camps in Upper Silesia since the beginning of the war, but these had not been under the direction of the SS. These camps were an independent organization, under the direction of Albrecht Schmelt, which provided manpower for various factories. In 1941 Schmelt received orders to close down his work camps, but with the help of Reich Minister Speer, he got Himmler to provide him with a good

176. On the left bank of the Oder, at the mouth of the Klodnitz, the present-day Kozle. Niederkirch, now Dolna, is not far away, in Silesia. See map in De Jong, volume 8, 752.

177. E. Koenig, *Im Vorhof der Vernichtung. Als Zwangsarbeiter in den Aussenlagern von Auschwitz* [In the Forecourt of Annihilation: A Forced Laborer in the Camps outside Auschwitz] (Frankfurt, 2000). See 95–98 for Cosel in particular. Koenig was studying in Paris when he was arrested by the French police in 1940, and then deported to Auschwitz in 1942. Just like Hans Löb, he was selected for forced labor in Cosel and taken to the Blechhammer labor camp. Koenig survived and emigrated to the United States after the war.

178. De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk* [The Kingdom], volume 8. Prisoners and deportees, 752–63. De Jong uses the Dutch spelling "Kosel."

ten thousand Jewish laborers who were on transport from Westerbork, Mechelen, and Drancy, on the way to Auschwitz, during the summer of 1942. In doing so, they were sabotaging SS policy of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* [RSHA, Reich Central Security Office], which really preferred to send all Jews to the extermination camps. But thanks to this chance happening resulting from an internal political power struggle, Ernest Koenig and Hans Löb, on transport from Drancy and Westerbork respectively, were taken off the train in Cosel, where the prisoners were then separated according to work projects. Initially Hans was sent to Niederkirch to work on the construction of a road from Breslau to Krakow (Cracow), along with about two hundred other Jews from Westerbork. There was an old *Hitlerjugend* [Hitler Youth] camp in Niederkirch, which was functioning as a holding camp. The commandants were SA men [storm troopers, also called "brown-shirts"], leaders of a violent regime, and beatings were frequent during the construction of the road.[179]

In comparison with those in other camps, the prisoners in Cosel did receive a reasonable amount of food each day—a plate full of potatoes and bread—but given the heavy labor required of them, it was much too little. Many died of hunger or passed out while working. They were primarily cutting a swath through the earth, twelve hours per day.

> Now there were Dutch Jews in the camp who had been deported about the same time as we had been. You could tell by their clothing—they weren't wearing prison uniforms yet—as well as their behavior, that most of them had been affluent citizens back home. All this chopping and hacking was a death penalty for these pitiable folks, who had never done any hard physical labor in their whole life. Many of them passed out the first day, and many died during the few days they were in Cosel.[180]

179. De Jong, volume 8, 757.

180. Translated from a Dutch translation of the original German paragraph by Koenig, *Im Vorhof der Vernichtung* [In the Forecourt of Annihilation], 97.

Hans Löb was in Cosel at this time, and was possibly one of those Dutch prisoners. Since so many were dying, the SS regularly held special roll calls, followed by groups being taken to another work camp. In this way, Hans was transferred from Niederkirch to Seibersdorf[181] at some point, where he then had to work on a railroad during the day, and on the construction of a new work camp in the evening. About 330 persons from Westerbork were being housed in Siebersdorf, but there was little water in the camp, and many died. The railroad officials who were directing the work often treated the Jews who were laying the tracks quite roughly. There were also frequent tensions between the Jews from Belgium, the Netherlands, and France, who often came from good families, and the Jews from Poland and other areas in the East, who had been in these work camps for quite a while.

Hans was transferred once again in March 1943, this time to the Blechhammer work camp, where Koenig would also come a few months later.[182] A large industrial complex was under construction in Blechhammer, built around an ultramodern hydrogenation plant, the *Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke* [Upper Silesian Hydration Works], for the production of synthetic petroleum products. One of the jobs given to the prisoners was to build an electrical power plant there. When the complex was begun in 1940, only Germans were working there, but the workforce was later reinforced by Polish prisoners, prisoners from the *Arbeitserziehungslager* [Labor training camp], members of the German Armed Forces (as punishment), Allied prisoners of war, and Jews. At one point there were 40,000 workers from all these various backgrounds. The Jews were housed in a *Judenlager* [Jewish Camp]: about twenty-five barracks on four hectares of ground, surrounded by high concrete walls and electric fences, with a total of about four thousand men living there, of whom twelve hundred had come from

181. See map in De Jong, volume 8, 753.

182. Ako file 430. De Jong, volume 8, 759–63. Koenig, *Im Vorhof der Vernichtung* [In the Forecourt of Annihilation], 109ff.

Westerbork. "In the construction area of the hydration plant, the Jews had to work an average of ten to twelve hours per day. Add to that the roll calls and the time spent marching to and from the work area, and they were on their feet for about sixteen hours a day."[183] It was heavy work—digging, lifting, carrying—and there were many casualties. For those who knew how to "make arrangements," the black market could yield sufficient relief, but according to De Jong, the Dutch Jews were not shrewd enough for this. Life in Blechhammer was exceptionally difficult until the camp was taken over by the SS in April 1944. The prisoners were worked to death, with no mercy being shown and selections occurred regularly, resulting in large groups being sent to Auschwitz to be gassed.

At the beginning of 1944, the situation did begin to improve, but there was not any real change until April 1, when the camp became part of Monowitz (Auschwitz III). Then the highest priority became keeping the hydration plant in operation, which led to many favorable improvements for the prisoners: they began to receive excellent food and clean underwear each week, they were no longer mistreated, and they came in direct contact with German workers who could provide them with extra food. In addition, they were called "prisoners" instead of "Jews." Problems arose, however, when the Americans began to bomb the power plant during the second half of 1944. Since the prisoners were not allowed inside the bunkers which were being used as air-raid shelters, they just had to fend for themselves and find safety as best they could. When Blechhammer became part of Monowitz, that also meant that its own crematorium had to be built on the grounds, and that the prisoners were given camp numbers: Hans received number 177886.[184] While in Blechhammer, Hans met Mr. Bremer (who had also been put on transport

183. De Jong, volume 8, 760.

184. Document of the International Red Cross, included in Kempner, *Edith Stein und Anne Frank*, 122–23.

on August 31, 1942, and who would contact Paula after the war)[185] and received help from Tomas Wiktor, a Polish fellow prisoner in that camp.[186] It is not clear why Wiktor was so concerned about Hans, but it is a fact that he especially admired Hans's mental strength and religious bearing: for example, Hans once sold his portion of food and used the money he received to have a Mass said for the repose of the soul of his father; he also made his confession in writing at intervals of six months. Tomas Wiktor tried to bring Hans Holy Communion, but he did not succeed.

Sometime during 1943, Tomas Wiktor, along with other young Polish men, was taken out of the camp and sent to an assembly area where a selection was made for forced service in the German army. Wiktor was rejected and set free, and he could remain at home for the rest of the war. Hans had given a few precious objects to Tomas Wiktor, requesting that they be sent to several persons in the Netherlands: a rosary, a pencil-drawn portrait, a holy card of Pope Pius XI, and some gift to be sent to the monastery where Hans had last stayed, which Wiktor sent to Koningshoeven Abbey after the war was over.[187]

If we can believe Wiktor, things were going well for Hans during the time he was in Blechhammer, considering the circumstances: he would not have had any serious illnesses, nor would he have been suffering from hunger.[188] He also looks healthy in a drawing made

185. Letter from A. Bremer to Mr. and Mrs. Van Broekhoven (on letterhead from P. K. Bunschot's business in Waalwijk), undated but sometime during 1945, in Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb.

186. Ako file 443; Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb. The original letter from Tomas Wiktor is in Polish; we have used the Dutch translation by Dr. Harrie Renckens of Heerlen.

187. The drawing was made by E. Rosenfeld, a fellow prisoner in the camp; the rosary no longer exists; and it is not clear what the gift was.

188. Ako file 443. That is what Tomas Wiktor wrote to Paula van Broekhoven on October 25, 1946. We presume that Wiktor, in retrospect, painted a better picture of the situation than it had actually been, in order to ease Paula's mind.

by a fellow prisoner about that same time, but it is no longer possible to determine whether that drawing really corresponded to reality.[189]

From Ernest Koenig's experiences, we get another picture of the living conditions in Blechhammer, certainly in 1943.[190] The prisoners lived in continual fear of the guards, they had to work hard, from time to time they suffered from hunger, and in the winter it could be quite cold. They wore a coarse, sturdy prison uniform consisting of a jacket, pants, underpants, a shirt, and a round hat. In the winter, a cloak was added, but it was no thicker than the jacket and offered no real protection against the cold. Poor-quality shoes caused wounds on their feet which would not heal due to the prisoners' undernourishment. In the summer, they were awakened between three and four o'clock in the morning, and in the winter, an hour later. At the construction site, which was about three to five kilometers from the camp, they worked from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., with a short break at 9:00 a.m. and again at noon. They had usually already eaten their ration of bread the evening before, so they noticed how really hungry they were during the day, especially during the breaks.

The prisoners lived in barracks with beds stacked three high. They had to make up their beds exactly right or they would receive punishments and beatings. After being awakened, there was a morning roll call that lasted quite a long time, during which the prisoners were counted, and after which they marched to the construction site. According to Koenig, the Russian prisoners of war were treated the worst, since they were *Untermenschen* [subhuman]. The English formed the elite class among the prisoners of war, demanding that they be treated according to the Geneva Conventions. The French,

189. This is the drawing made by E. Rosenfeld, a Dutch fellow prisoner in the camp, which was mentioned above. This drawing was in the possession of Paula van Broekhoven, who placed it in the care of the archives of Koningsoord Abbey.

190. Koenig, *Im Vorhof der Vernichtung* [In the Forecourt of Annihilation], 109–32.

including Koenig, had to work much harder. Gradually the administration became more flexible and the prisoners tried to work less, to make more bargains among themselves, and to get hold of food. News about political situations and war events did find its way into the camp, even though it was often distorted in transmission.

In the middle of January 1945, the prisoners from the Blechhammer complex were moved west, further into Germany, due to the approaching Russian armies. Hans Löb left Blechhammer on foot, under harsh weather conditions, with about 4000 other prisoners, headed for Gross-Rosen. This "death march" lasted fourteen days: on February 4, only 1200 arrived in Gross-Rosen; the others had perished on the way. Four days later, this group left in open coal cars, headed for Buchenwald, where they arrived on February 10 or 11.[191] They were housed in the already too full *Kleines Lager* [Little Camp], which was referred to as Buchenwald's *Elendsviertel* [slum] because of the thousands of people who died there in a very short time. Hans Löb was admitted to infirmary barrack number 61 with frozen feet.[192] Among all the infirmary barracks for prisoners, this particular barrack had functioned as the isolation barrack since the beginning of 1945, where all those with contagious diseases were placed. After the arrival of mass transports from Auschwitz, the SS used this barrack for administering poisonous injections to kill prisoners with contagious diseases, as well as the so-called "musselmen,"

191. On February 10, 1945, 24 persons in really poor condition arrived in Buchenwald, having come from Auschwitz via Gross-Rosen. On February 11, another group of two thousand persons arrived, and on February 12, a third group of 2500 persons. According to the quarterly report of Dr. Schiedlausky from March 31, 1945, reprinted in H. Stein, *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945. Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* [Buchenwald Concentration Camp 1937–1945: Guide to the permanent historical exhibit], Göttingen, 2007, 222–23.

192. Archives, NIOD [Netherlands Institute for War Documentation], Amsterdam, Dossier Westerbork. Letter, A. F. Bremer, 1945. Hans was registered in Buchenwald with camp number 124394.

those who staggered around the camp like skeletons. Consequently many prisoners never made it further than the entrance to barrack 61.[193] Hans died there on February 20, 1945.[194] Until the beginning of 1945, corpses had been cremated in Buchenwald, but due to a shortage of fuel for the crematorium, the corpses had just been piled up outside since February 1945. After a few weeks, they were buried in a mass grave on the south side of Ettersberg, the mountain where Camp Buchenwald was located.[195]

6. Paula's Time Underground

After their marriage in November 1938, Harrie and Paula lived in Waalwijk. During the winter of 1940–1941, they moved to Drunen, where Harrie was a teacher. After her mother died, the contacts among Paula's brothers and sisters were usually made via her and Harrie, even though they were not as good at writing letters as Jenny had been.

In January 1941, when it became compulsory for Jews to be registered and recognizable as such, Paula did fill in the registration form, but at the insistence of R. van der Heijden, the mayor of Drunen, and A. van de Lokkant, the municipal secretary, she indicated that she was unable to determine whether her parents and grandparents were full-blooded Jews or not.[196] No exceptions were made for

193. Stein, *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald* [Buchenwald Concentration Camp], 224–26.

194. The second appendix in *In Memoriam*, The Hague, 1995. Nonetheless, the International Red Cross provided R. Kempner with other information for his book *Edith Stein und Anne Frank*. The document concerning Hans Löb is reproduced there on 122–23, indicating that he would have died in Buchenwald on February 18, 1945, at 6:10 p.m. The cause of death was noted as "Sepsis b. inf. Frostwunden bd. Füsse" [blood poisoning due to infected wounds on both frozen feet].

195. Stein, *Buchenwald*, 226.

196. Both of these municipal officials would continue to make efforts to warn people and protect them from the measures being taken by the German

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baptized Jews on the registration forms that the Jews received in 1941, since the Germans recognized no religious distinctions—it was simply a racial distinction based on biological theories. A few months later, the mayor let Harrie van Broekhoven know that it could not be determined whether a J (Jew), or G1 (mixed), or G2 (one-half or one-quarter) should be filled in on Paula's registration form, as prescribed by the German ordinance. For that reason, the family would have to research the line of descent, and if that did not yield any results, they would have to call upon the Reich Commissioner for a decision.[197]

A few months later, Harrie addressed Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart, once again indicating that they were not sure whether Paula had to register or not, since there was no clarity about her ancestry. "The petitioner himself is of pure Aryan descent," wrote Harrie, but this cannot be established with certainty for his wife. He then added that Paula's parents were already deceased, and that they had never spoken about further family relationships in Paula's home. There was some doubt about one of her grandparents being non-Aryan, but nothing was known of any membership in a Jewish religious community. He humbly requested "a most favorable decision for his wife" from the Reich Commissioner.[198] However, Harrie had underestimated the census administration. The answer he received from the Department of Domestic Affairs was that Paula certainly did have to be registered as a "full Jew," in other words, that she was descended from four Jewish grandparents.[199] Paula was notified in January 1942, when a J had to be noted on the identification cards of all Jews, as well as a few months later, when Jews were required

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occupying forces. The consequences of this for Van der Heijden were that he was taken prisoner by the Germans in Haaren. Van de Lokkant had to go underground.

197. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, letter, May 21, 1941.

198. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, letter, September 18, 1941.

199. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, letter, September 20, 1941.

to wear a yellow Star of David on their clothing, but she did not go pick them up.

On May 3, 1942, Paula gave birth to her son Loek (short for Lodewijk, which is a Dutch form of "Louis"), named after her father, Lutz (Ludwig). The mayor of Drunen and the municipal secretary saw to it that Loek's data was later removed from the census records, so he would not be in any danger.

In accordance with the German Ordinance 6/1941, Paula was once again sent a registration form in June 1942 so she could register as a Jew. This time she could also apply to the *Generalkommissar für Verwaltung und Justiz* [General Commissioner for Management and Justice], requesting an altered decision, but she would have to show that one or more grandparents were really not of Jewish descent. Paula signed this form.[200] In July, *Generalkommissar zur besonderen Verwendung* [General Commissioner for Special Matters] Schmidt made it known that Jews who had been baptized before January 1, 1941, would be exempt from deportation.[201] This also applied to Catholic Jews, the group to which Paula and other members of her family belonged, but it has already been made clear that this notification offered little guarantee.

About 3:00 a.m. on August 2, 1942, Paula was removed from her bed by two local policemen, Dekkers and Van Nistelrooij, to be taken to 's-Hertogenbosch. Dekkers did not know the name "Löb" but his colleague told him that she was the wife of the teacher, Van Broekhoven. It was only when he was standing face to face with Paula that Dekkers realized what the end of his assignment was: that she, as a Jew, would be sent to a concentration camp. He wanted to prevent that, so he did not proceed to arrest her immediately; instead, he checked with the councilman and the pastor, to see if

200. Registration form, Drunen, June 4, 1942, Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb.

201. Snoek, *De Nederlandse kerken en de Joden, 1940–1945* [The Dutch Churches and the Jews, 1940–1945], 91.

Paula was registered as a Jew. Pastor Goossens gave him Paula's baptismal certificate, which showed she had been baptized in 1918 in Sawah Loento. Dekkers was aware of the bishops' letter as well as the announcement that baptized Jews would not be arrested, so he contacted the German Service on Boxtelseweg in Vught and laid his dilemma before them. They instructed him to make an extensive report and take action the following day. Constable Dekkers then agreed with the Van Broekhoven family that he would return the next day around 1:00 p.m. to make his report. Dekkers intentionally made sure that Paula and Harrie would have time to escape, but in accordance with his assignment, Dekkers did give Paula the list of all the things she would have to bring with her.[202] The next day, just for show, he asked around and heard from others in the neighborhood that the family had left early that morning for an unknown destination.

Paula had indeed left home on her bicycle at 6:00 that morning, biking through the Drunense Dunes and on to Helvoirt, where her in-laws lived. Harrie and Loek arrived there as well a few hours later, in a taxi. From there, they went to the home of Harrie's youngest sister in Tilburg, where they remained underground for four days.

Shortly thereafter, a notice appeared in the local Tilburg newspaper saying that Paula van Broekhoven had probably drowned in the Wilhelmina Canal on the edge of Tilburg—her clothing had

202. Documentation, the W. Dekkers family of Swalmen. Letter and appeal from A. Dekkers (1907–1988) of Roermond to the *Buitengewone Pensioenraad* [Special Pensions Board] in Heerlen, concerning their response in October 1979 to the application for eligibility for a special pension bonus for resistance activities. One of the activities which Constable Dekkers pursued concerned Lips' Screw Factory in Drunen which, according to his findings, had been collaborating with the Germans to a high degree. On various occasions, Dekkers had been involved with orders to arrest Jews, but he repeatedly tried to warn them in time, or to give them sufficient respite to get away. Ultimately he too was picked up, tried, and locked up in an isolation cell for a while.

been found on the bank of that canal. When Constable Dekkers heard that, he took no further action.

Quite a while later, as Dekkers remembered it, two "so-called Dutchmen" (NSB men, or in any case, persons who were collaborating with the Germans) called on Harrie van Broekhoven, who had returned to Drunen. Dekkers knew they were planning to visit Van Broekhoven and had warned Harrie not to believe their story; rather, he should stick to the story that his wife was dead. So the two left, empty handed. On October 14, Harrie received another call-up for Paula, with orders for her to report to the *Zentralstelle* [Central Office] in Amsterdam on October 16. Apparently it had not been definitely established that she had drowned. Harrie wrote the State Inspector for the Population Registrar that his wife had been missing since August 4.[203]

In the fall of 1942, there was a call-up for all those in mixed marriages to report,[204] but it was not clear what would happen to them. If Harrie were to report now, would he be admitting that Paula was Jewish? But that was exactly what they had called into question. On the other hand, there was the decision that had already condemned Paula as a "full Jew." On February 18, 1943, an act of the Reich Commissioner was drawn up regarding the dismissal of public employees who had a Jewish spouse. The Department of Domestic Affairs sent Harrie van Broekhoven a copy of this act[205] that included this phrase: "This act does not apply to persons whose marriage is dissolved on April 1, either by death or divorce, or who are separated from table and bed." A while later, for appearances'

203. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb. Missing Persons Notice in *Politieblad* [Police Journal], September 3, 1942.

204. N. van der Zee, *Om erger te voorkomen. De voorbereiding en uitvoering van de vernietiging van het Nederlandse jodendom tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog* [In order to avoid anything worse: Preparation and Implementation of the Elimination of Dutch Jewry during World War II] (Amsterdam, 1997), 159.

205. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb.

sake, in order to give the impression that he had broken all bonds with Paula, Harrie initiated a procedure which would legally effect a separation from table and bed, calling in the lawyer M. Adelmeijer. As a result of mediation by the local pastor, Harrie received a notice from Bishop Mutsaerts saying that, in the present situation, he had no objections to a civil separation.

Within the framework of this legal separation, an announcement appeared in the *Noord-Brabantsche Courant* [North Brabant Newspaper] on March 25, 1943, summoning Paula to appear before the President of the Tribunal in 's-Hertogenbosch. Obviously, she did not show up. On April 12, another such announcement was published, this time summoning her to appear on June 11; and there was no response this time either. So on June 18 the separation from table and bed was formally declared, with their son, Loek, being awarded to Harrie.[206] In retrospect, Paula indicated that she was not too happy with the way her husband had handled the matter; according to her, Harrie was unnecessarily worried: "very little could happen to him as a Catholic Dutchman."[207]

By that time, Paula had been away from Tilburg for a long time. On August 10, 1942, her brother-in-law had taken her to Nijmegen, where she had hoped to be taken in by the JMJ sisters on Oude Stadsgracht. That is where Sr. Immaculée Dicker lived, who had been a friend of her sister Lien when they were both studying at the teachers' school in Hoogerheide. Paula had visited her the previous year and had stayed with the Dederen family, who lived near the monastery, at Pauwelstraat 12. When Paula and Jan arrived at the monastery, that particular sister was on retreat and could not

206. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, letter, July 30, 1943.

207. K. van Oord, "Er is bij ons gelukkig niets weggehaald" [Luckily, nothing was taken from us], in *Brabants Nieuwsblad* [Brabant's Newspaper], Wednesday, June 9, 1999. What concerns Paula's story is based on F. Durant, *Drunen, Elshout bezet bevrijd: oorlogsherinneringen van inwoners* [Drunen, Elshout, Occupied, Liberated: War Memories of those who lived there], Venlo, 1994.

be interrupted, so they called on the Dederen family. The father of that family, Pieter Dederen, was ready to take Paula into their home on the spot.[208]

After Paula had gone underground in Nijmegen, her son, Loek, was taken to the home of her brother-in-law, Jan van Broekhoven, and his wife in Oisterwijk, where he remained for about one year. Then he was taken to the Bunschot family in Waalwijk, where he remained until the southern part of the Netherlands was liberated.

In the meantime, Paula herself was totally ignorant of all that had happened to her brothers and sisters. She knew they had been picked up in August, but she had never heard anything about what had happened to them since. That made for a great deal of uncertainty in a situation that was already quite oppressive for her. Harrie was in contact with the abbess in Berkel-Enschot and with Sr. Veronica, who had stayed behind in the monastery, but Paula was hardly aware of this. She must have been grievously distressed to hear that her sister was dying and she could not be with her, nor did she dare risk going to Veronica's funeral on August 3, 1944, either.

From August 1942 until November 1944, Paula lived underground in the Dederen home. The family was composed of the father, Pieter, the sons, Lo (Louis) and Vic, and daughter, Erna, who was about the same age as Paula—those two spent a lot of time together. The mother, Marie, had died earlier. No one was allowed to say anything at all about Paula's background to family or friends, so as not to endanger either Paula herself or the others. At first, Paula did go outside now and then with the boys or Erna, but after an unpleasant encounter with Germans (which luckily turned out okay) she stayed indoors, for her own safety as well as that of the Dederen family.

At one point, Erna received a call-up for *Arbeitseinsatz* [Forced Labor], to which her father responded with a very nice, polite note. He explained that it was impossible for them to do without her, since

208. Dederen family, Memories of War Times, manuscript. Notes made by Erna and Louis in November 1944, later compiled and typed.

she was the daughter in a motherless family. Apparently they were satisfied with that response, so Erna could once again go out for food regularly, with the result that they suffered no hunger during the war.

At one point, Erna's Uncle Frans and his wife also came to live with the Dederen family, when the occupying forces took over their own home. Aunt Jeanne lived with them as well, after the death of her husband. Once when Vic was picked up during a raid and had to stand trial at the police station, Paula was quickly taken to the family of a friend in Arnhem, George Wiessing, who had been a fellow student with her father, Lutz. It was not inconceivable that the authorities might also search the house where Vic lived. Luckily this never happened, and Paula could return to Nijmegen about fourteen days later.

On February 22, 1944, Nijmegen was heavily bombed by Allied forces by mistake.[209] Many, many buildings in the center of the city were destroyed, but miraculously, the house belonging to the Dederen family remained unscathed. Nonetheless, the Dederens had to evacuate their home because of the fires that were raging throughout the downtown area and threatening to spread to still-standing buildings. Somebody was already waiting outside with a cart to help them save their household goods, but he turned out to be a thief. They were able to find shelter temporarily with their friends, the Holla family. They introduced Paula to them as Erna's girlfriend who just happened to be spending the night, and for whom it was now difficult to return to her own family. A few weeks later, they were able to move back into their own house.

Even though Paula once again remained indoors most of the time, and they still kept silent about her presence as much as possible, the father of the Dederen family, with the utmost caution, did dare to

209. De Jong, volume 7–2, 1259. Bart Janssen, *De pijn die blijft. Ooggetuigenverslagen van het bombardement van Nijmegen 22 februari 1944* [The Pain that Remains: Eyewitness Reports of the Bombing of Nijmegen, February 22, 1944] (SUN: Amsterdam), 2005.

inform Paula's husband, Harrie, of the fact that Paula was with them. So now Harrie also came to visit now and then, being introduced to family or acquaintances who encountered him as "this friend" or "that gentleman." He also provided extra food and ration coupons, which of course were quite welcome. Paula, however, was always on her guard and immediately disappeared if she heard strange voices or footsteps.

During Operation Market Garden, which began on Sunday, September 17, 1944, Nijmegen found itself on the front line. German antiaircraft artillery and Allied fighter planes, flying low and shooting at everything, made for dangerous situations. There was really no escape for the citizens of Nijmegen. The Dederens sought a safe place under the stairs. With memories of theft and plundering following the February bombardment still fresh in their minds, they did not want to leave their home and possessions behind again, unguarded. After a few days, though, they decided to seek a safer shelter anyway. The family, along with their neighbors, went to the basement of the still half-standing school building that belonged to the JMJ sisters, located on Oude Stadsgracht, just beyond Pauwelstraat. The Germans discovered them, however, and chased them out, so they took shelter in a bank building. A day later they could welcome the British military who were entering the city, and then return to their own home.

Now that the city was in Allied hands, Paula could permit herself more freedom and, together with Erna, she went out for a walk almost every day. During the shelling around Arnhem, one of the grenades also landed on the roof of their house. No one was injured, but the beds Erna and Paula had been lying in not long before were percolated with holes. From that day on, they lived in the air-raid shelter in the basement of the city hall, while British military personnel moved into their house.

In November 1944, Paula tried to get a permit which would allow her to leave the city. She wanted to go back to her husband, Harrie, and her little boy, Loek, who were in Drunen, which lay in

liberated territory. When she did receive the necessary permission from a military office, she traveled by car to Drunen, accompanied by Vic Dederen, who was ill. Harrie arranged for Vic to stay with a doctor in Oirschot until he recovered.

It took Paula a long time before she was able to take her place in family life once again. She had been through a lot and had lost members of her immediate family. The uncertainty about her deported brothers and sisters would continue for a long time yet. When the truth about their deaths finally did come to light, it meant that Paula would have to live with the psychological burden of being the only survivor in the family. Just like a great many others who lived through drastic experiences during the war and lost many of their dear ones, Paula often felt interiorly torn and barely able to return to living an ordinary life. After being separated from her husband and son for such a long time, she had to put forth a great deal of effort to take up her role as wife and mother once again. In addition, all of this had to take place within a society that was trying to recover and had little interest in the miseries of the past. Words fell short when one did try to relate what one had been through and, really, no one was asking for those stories, or even listening to them.[210] And then there were the sensation seekers and those who distorted the stories: they were reason enough for Paula to keep silent.

7. Other Victims Among the Members of the Loeb and Van Gelder Families

The measures taken against the Jews by the occupying forces affected many other members of the Loeb and Van Gelder families

210. See M. Citroen, *U wordt door niemand verwacht. Nederlandse joden na kampen en onderduik* [No one is expecting you: Dutch Jews after the camps and underground], Utrecht, 1999; B. Moore, *Slachtoffers en overlevenden. De nazivervolging van de joden in Nederland* [Victims and Survivors: The Nazi Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands] (Amsterdam, 1998); L. Stilma, *Woorden te kort* [Words Fall Short] (Kampen, 1990).

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as well, making them victims of the war in various ways. A great number of them were picked up and died in the gas chambers. This applied to three generations of the Loeb family: Nathan Loeb's brothers and sisters; Lutz Löb's brothers and sisters; and the Löb children's cousins. Several members of the family died of other causes during the war. A small group survived the war after enduring being taken prisoner, being held in a camp, or going underground. A few other members of the family were faced with Japan's war activities and camps in the Dutch East Indies. The fact that they were Jewish played no significant role in their case. And finally, there were other members of the family who were able to reach safety somewhere else in the world before the war began. As a result, these family members did not come in direct contact with the terrors of war, and did not personally suffer as victims. It is known that one member of the family worked for the Gestapo—as a Jew—and after the war, was condemned for having done so.[211]

In addition to the monks and nuns of the Löb family, there were also several of their Jewish relatives on the transport from Westerbork which arrived in Auschwitz on August 9, 1942. Max and Rosina Cohen-Loeb died in Auschwitz on August 10, 1942.[212] Two days later,

211. According to the *Stamboek* [Family Tree] by Norbert Leo Loeb (which he had received from his father, Ernst Loeb, on October 1, 1941, and which was subsequently provided with notes and additions by various persons on different occasions), Gideon Loeb, grandson of Moritz Loeb and Selma Schimmelfennig, worked for the Gestapo and for this reason was sentenced to fifteen years in prison in October 1947.

212. *In Memoriam* (The Hague, 1995), 129. Max was one of Asser Cohen's sons, and a business partner of Nathan Loeb. Rosina Loeb was Nathan Loeb's half sister. The publishers of the book *In Memoriam* indicate the following on xiii, "Verantwoording" [Accountability]: "This book contains the names of the more than one hundred thousand Jewish victims who were deported during World War II and for whom there is no known grave. The information in this book is taken from the Memorial Books of the Netherlands War Graves Foundation in The Hague. Various organizations assisted in the collection of

Betsy Cohen-Wijnberg was gassed in Auschwitz.[213] Her husband, Salomon Cohen, met the same fate on September 30, 1942, the same day that Sr. Hedwigis, Sr. Theresia, and Br. Linus were sent to the gas chambers.[214] Salomon's mother, Rosina, died in Auschwitz on October 1, 1942.[215] Nathan's half brother, Ernst, was murdered in the gas chambers on September 30; his daughter-in-law Erna Loeb-Leefsma had died a few weeks earlier, on September 7, 1942.[216]

On August 28, 1942, Frits Michel Weijl died in Auschwitz, and his wife, Wilhelmina Spiero, died a few weeks later, on September 26.[217]

Hans Loeb, the son of Ernst August, mentioned above, died on November 14, 1944, in Bergen-Belsen. His wife, Rosa Loeb-Polak, also died in Bergen-Belsen, on February 17, 1945.[218]

Maurits Goudsmit, together with his wife, Sophie Marianne Goudsmit-van den Berg, and their two daughters, Tinie and Louise, were killed in Auschwitz on October 1, 1942.[219]

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the personal details of the tens of thousands of those who died, including The Netherlands Red Cross, the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, and the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs. The information which was collected was then—as far as possible—verified using various census registers." See also www.ogs.nl, the website of the Netherlands War Graves Foundation, including a register of victims with corresponding references to the Memorial Books. A digital monument to the Jewish community in the Netherlands can be found at http://www.joodsmonument.nl/page/552712/en.

213. *In Memoriam*, 138.

214. Ibid., 130.

215. Ibid., 135.

216. Ibid., 470. Erna. Her full name was: Esperance Nanette Leefsma, born on May 9, 1918, in Opsterland. She was married to Ernst's son, Herbert Loeb, born on January 1, 1911, in Leyden.

217. Ibid., 814–815. Frits was the son of Max Weijl and Nanny Weijl-Loeb, one of Nathan Loeb's sisters.

218. Ibid., 470.

219. Ibid., 266. Tinie was born on August 31, 1921, in Utrecht; Louise was born on February 22, 1932, in The Hague. Their mother, Sophie, was the daughter of Jozef van den Berg and Adèle Loeb, one of Nathan's sisters.

Selma Schimmelfenning, who was married to Nathan's brother Moritz Loeb, died in Sobibor on March 5, 1943. Her grandson, Raphael, died in Sobibor on July 2, 1943, and his mother, Flora Loeb-Polak, died in Auschwitz on April 10, 1944.[220]

Karolina Senator-Loeb, one of Nathan's sisters, died in Auschwitz on September 10, 1943. Erich, her son by her first husband, Albert Winter, died on March 31, 1944, in Auschwitz;[221] her daughter-in-law, Adèle Winter-de Smitt, was sent to the gas chamber the same day.[222]

Johanna Loeb, Lutz Löb's sister, along with her husband, Alexander Paradies, were picked up and sent to Westerbork on April 13, 1943, where they met their niece Veronica.[223] Johanna and Alexander were killed in Sobibor on April 30.[224] Their son, Hans Paradies, along with his wife, Eveline Katan, and both of their children, Peter and Edith, died in Sobibor on July 23, 1943: they had all been in the transit camp in Vught and were sent to Sobibor via Westerbork.[225]

Paula Bromberg-Rosenfeld, Jeremias Bromberg's second wife, also died in Sobibor on May 7, 1943.[226] Two weeks later another son of the already mentioned Max and Nanny Weijl-Loeb, Norbert Weijl, died in Sobibor. His mother, Nanny, was murdered on July 2.[227] That same day, Erna Troostwijk-Meijer and her husband, Philip Mozes Troostwijk, died in Sobibor. Erna was one of the daughters of Frederike Loeb (Nathan's sister) and David Meijer.[228] Frederike died on September 3,

220. Ibid., 459. Selma was born in 1869 in Memel, in East Germany. Her grandson, Raphael, was born in 1919 in The Hague.

221. Ibid., 671.

222. Ibid., 820.

223. Interview with Gerard Paradies, Amsterdam, December 15, 2000.

224. *In Memoriam*, 556.

225. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait], 179; *In Memoriam*, 556.

226. *In Memoriam*, 100. Paula was born in 1874 in Neuwied. Jeremias Bromberg's first wife was one of Nathan Loeb's sisters.

227. Ibid., 815.

228. Ibid., 743.

1943, in Auschwitz.[229] Her other daughter, Emma Birnbaum-Meijer, died on February 11, 1944, in Auschwitz, together with her husband, Albert, and their little boy, Samuel Birnbaum.[230]

Several members of the family were not sent to concentration camps, but did die somewhere else during the war. In the fall of 1942, Frederick Lankhout was picked up and shot to death in Paris. He was on his way to England, via France and Spain, and was presumably betrayed. Frederick was the son-in-law of Lutz Löb's brother Paul Loeb.[231]

For some members of the family, it is not known where they died. One such case is Herbert Loeb, who was married to Erna Leefsma. He probably died on March 31, 1944, somewhere in Central Europe.

Some members of the family managed to escape the Jewish persecution. Fritz Paradies, Johanna and Alexander's second son, was married to the non-Jewish Truus Klene. They lived in Amsterdam with their children, Gerard and Hans, and Truus worked as a secretary in Abel Herzberg's law firm. Fritz was not religious and he did not want to be censured for being a Jew, so he went underground for a while during 1941–1942. He had polio and osteoporosis, though, and that was probably the reason why he was not picked up. In March 1942, he did receive a letter from the Jewish Council's Office of Emigration in Amsterdam, asking him to report. He had to prove that his children were "Mischlinge" [mixed blood], that they had a non-Jewish mother.[232] He succeeded in doing so, and did not even suffer any harm himself.

Several members of the family occupied a special place among the survivors: they belonged to the so-called Barneveld group. During

229. Ibid., 505.

230. Ibid., 59.

231. Interview with Mrs. H. Gelderblom-Lankhout, The Hague, December 12, 2000. Frederick was married to Paul's daughter, Eline Theodora.

232. Documentation, G. Paradies, Amsterdam. Letter, March 11, 1942, in German. His father, Frits, died in 1970.

the course of the war, many lists were made with the intention of protecting certain persons and groups from deportation. One of these lists, composed by Attorney K. Frederiks, Secretary General for Domestic Affairs during the occupation, included the names of about six hundred Dutch Jews who were imprisoned for their own security in a castle, De Schaffelaar, and in a nearby villa in the town of Barneveld. They were mostly persons who held more or less prominent positions at the social or cultural level.[233] The following members of the Loeb family were part of this group: Alfred Loeb (Lutz's brother) with his wife, Betty Levenbach, and their daughter, Connie; Paul Loeb (Lutz's brother) with his daughter, Hannie Keizer-Loeb, and her husband, Meijer Joseph Keizer, their little girl, Marianne, and one of Meijer Keijzer's sisters; Abel Herzberg and his wife, Thea (Lutz's youngest sister), with their three children, Bram, Esther, and Judith.[234]

From December 1942 (or, for some of them, from March 1943) until the end of September 1943, these Jewish families lived in Barneveld. They were not free to come and go as they pleased, but within the given circumstances, their life was made as comfortable as possible. On September 29, 1943—Rauter had intentionally chosen Jewish New Year for his action—there was a big raid, during which

233. Understandably, there was indeed some discussion about this selection, both at the time as well as later. There was no clear criterion for placing this person on the list and not that one. Abel Herzberg, who himself was included on the list—he was a prominent man in the Zionist movement and a respected jurist—wondered (in retrospect) why the Jewish Council was accused of too much selectivity (they were commissioned by the Germans, after all, to determine who was placed on the list or not), while those who determined the composition of the Barneveld group were accused of a lack of selection criteria. In both situations, there was talk of questionable attempts to save at least part of the Jewish population in the Netherlands, and in doing so, a distinction was made between persons based on their social position.

234. Archives, NIOD [Netherlands Institute for War Documentation], Amsterdam, Dossier, Barneveld group.

even the leaders of the Jewish Council were picked up, and the whole Barneveld group was suddenly transported to Westerbork. Thea and Abel Herzberg succeeded in allowing their children to escape from the train. Thereafter, various underground addresses were found for them, to enable them to survive the war.[235]

In Westerbork, all those from Barneveld were housed in a separate barrack, and at one point, were given prospects of being exchanged for German prisoners and leaving for Palestine. So as not to miss out on this opportunity, several volunteered to go with the first transport of 1037 persons—in passenger cars, not in cattle cars—on January 11, 1944, from Westerbork to Bergen-Belsen, near Hannover. Abel and Thea went with this group; they were not exchanged, though, and they did not end up in Palestine. They remained in Bergen-Belsen, but they did survive.[236]

Several remaining members of the Barneveld group, including Paul and Alfred Loeb and members of their families, were put on transport to Theresienstadt on September 4, 1944, along with two thousand other prisoners.[237] When they arrived, they met other relatives who were already there, including Leo Loeb (Paul and Alfred's cousin)

235. Thea Herzberg-Loeb, letter to her grandson Mosheh.

236. Abel Herzberg wrote several books about his camp experiences, including *Tweestromenland. Dagboek uit Bergen-Belsen* [Land of Two Rivers: A Journal from Bergen-Belsen], (*Verzameld Werk 2*) [Collected Works, vol. 2] (Amsterdam, 1993), 63–241; *Amor fati. Zeven opstellen over Bergen-Belsen* [Love of One's Fate: Seven Essays on Bergen-Belsen] (Amsterdam, 1998). See also Shmu'el Hacohen, *Zwijgende stenen. Herinnering aan een vermoorde jeugd* [Silent Stones: Memories of a Murdered Youth] (The Hague, 1990). Hacohen, born in Amsterdam in 1926, was put on transport to Westerbork in April 1943. The family was separated, with his mother and her daughters being sent to Sobibor and then straight to the gas chambers. During the winter of 1944, Shmu'el and his oldest brother ended up in Bergen-Belsen, which was known as being a relatively favorable camp at the time. This camp was cynically referred to as "Austauschwitz" ("Austausch" is German for "exchange").

237. Munnick, *Uitverkoren in uitzondering* [Chosen as an Exception], 60–61.

and Jenny Loeb-Rose (the wife of their cousin Ernst Loeb), who died in quick succession in Theresienstadt. Leo's wife, Meta Spiegel (born in 1887 in Gelsenkirchen, and related to Wilhelm Spiegel) had been missing since 1944.[238] During the months of August and September 1944, scenes were filmed in Ghetto Theresienstadt for the propaganda film, *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* [The Führer Gives the Jews a City]. On several occasions, Red Cross delegations were admitted to the camp, but this was primarily in order to make a good impression on outsiders.[239]

The irony of war would have it that Hans Löb took part in a death march to Gross-Rosen on February 4, 1945, while a day later a train with about 1210 well-dressed Jews left Theresienstadt for Switzerland, to be exchanged by the Germans for trucks and cars. Many Dutch Jews had reported for this transport, including Paul Loeb and his daughter and her family, and even though there were tense moments during the trip, they were able to survive the war in this way. Once they had arrived in Switzerland, they could remove the Star of David from their clothing and they were told, "In the name of Reichsführer Himmler, you are now free." Shortly afterward, though, Hitler let Himmler know that he was not allowed to organize any more such transports.[240]

On April 8, 1945, the residents of Camp Bergen-Belsen were evacuated, including Abel and Thea Herzberg. The train was stuffed full with twenty-four hundred people, and then parked for a few days before beginning a fourteen-day trip right across the middle of Germany, until it reached Tröbitz (sixty kilometers east of Leipzig),

238. Leo died on October 23, and Jenny, on October 31, 1944. *In Memoriam*, 470.

239. Benz, *Holocaust*, 90.

240. G. Berkley, *Theresienstadt. De geschiedenis van het 'modelkamp' van de nazi's* [Theresienstadt: The Story of the Nazis' "Model Camp"] (Baarn, 1995), 235.

where the group was liberated by the Russians on April 26.[241] Abel and Thea stayed in a Russian emergency hospital for two months before being able to return to Amsterdam, via Leipzig, with the Red Cross.

It was not until May 8, 1945, that the Russians could also liberate Ghetto Theresienstadt, the late date being partly due to the fact that Theresienstadt had come to lie between the two war fronts. It was only then that Alfred Loeb, his wife Betty, and their daughter Connie were given their freedom and could return to the Netherlands a while later.

Ernst Loeb and his children managed to survive the war in another way. They were living in Scheveningen at the beginning of the war, where they witnessed the systematic searching of Jewish homes in June 1942. A detailed inventory of the contents of each home was registered, with an estimation of the value of the furniture, and especially the jewelry and the objects of art[242]—gold and silver were taken immediately. The residents were then warned not to remove anything from their homes, that all their possessions were being confiscated by Lippmann Rosenthal & Co. Ernst realized that such an inventory would be taken of his own home as well, so he was able to move many of his possessions to safety. He had little confidence in the possibilities available to the Jewish Council's really being able to protect the Jews, and he advised his children, Norbert, Leo, and Emmy, not to get involved with the Jewish Council's activities. On August 18, 1942, they received a call-up to register, and the next day they all went underground in The Hague, where they were able to remain in safety for a long time. Norbert had already returned from Germany before the war. From Amsterdam, he had been able to find an underground address in Nieuwersluis aan de Vecht, and then later, another address in Loosdrecht, where he could stay until the end of the war.

241. Herzberg, *Kroniek* [Chronicles], 237.

242. E. Loeb, *Zelfportret* [Self-portrait].

On February 16, 1945, Ernst Loeb, Emmy, and Leo were arrested and taken to the prison in Scheveningen (known as the Oranje Hotel). Ernst and Leo were placed in cell 642, while Emmy was taken to the women's section. Presumably they had been betrayed, for it seems their whole house was later emptied. On May 1, Ernst and Leo were set free and witnessed the liberators entering The Hague.[243] Emmy had already been given her freedom a couple days earlier. Friends helped them find a new home, and they were able to get furniture from "The Business" in The Hague, which had been carefully administered by a few of the salesmen during Paul's absence. Ernst Loeb's home then became the gathering point for family members returning after the war. Paul and Alfred came back in July. Bram Herzberg brought news about his parents, Abel and Thea, and his sisters who had survived the war. Gradually they also received messages about their many relatives who had not survived.

Sr. Van Puffelen, who had taken care of Father Nathan for a long time, had been able to keep an eye on "The Business" and the house in The Hague. Ernst Loeb visited the building right after the capitulation and was warmly received by Mr. Zentgraaf and Mr. Osinga, Paul Loeb's two salesmen who had been able to keep the business going, and in so doing, had been able to prevent the "Bewariërs" (as they were sarcastically called)[244] from appropriating it. In July, when Paul returned from Switzerland, he could take "The Business" back into his own hands, even though everything which was of any value had been removed from the building, including the central heating system. He started over again, but this time he did not use credit sales as a drawing card. Most of his prewar employees also returned. Paul

243. Ibid.

244. "Bewariër" is a play on words, a combination of "bewaren" (the Dutch verb meaning to guard, keep, save, preserve) and "Ariër" (Dutch for Aryan). It was used cynically as a term of abuse during World War II to refer to a non-Jew to whom a Jew gave goods in custody before being deported (and who later did not return the goods).

had no successor though, since his daughters had no ambition for this kind of business. Nonetheless, he did keep "The Business" going for a while, for the sake of his employees, and in order to provide a pension for several retired salesmen. The store was not doing too well, though, and at sixty-five years of age, it was getting to be too much for Paul, so when his faithful manager Zentgraaf died in November 1948, he made the decision to sell the house at Noordeinde 109, where all the members of the family had grown up.[245]

There were also many victims to be mourned in the Van Gelder family. Jenny's younger sister Heintje, who was married to Jacob Raphaël, died with her husband in Sobibor on April 2, 1943. David, Jenny's older brother, died in Sobibor on May 14, 1943. Elias van Gelder, who was married to the German Selma Ullmann, had left for Java in 1934. Both of them ended up in a Japanese camp and died there. The following names appeared on the transport list from Westerbork to Auschwitz for September 3, 1944, along with the names of Otto, Edith, Margo, and Anne Frank: Abraham van Gelder, Hendrika van Gelder-Raphaël, Heintje van Gelder-de Jong, and Alexander van Gelder and his wife, Clara van Gelder-Vischschraper. This was the last transport leaving Westerbork and included 1019 persons.[246] Heintje (named Hendrika) Raphaël, the widow of Barend van Gelder, was sent to the gas chamber when she arrived in Auschwitz on September 6, 1944. Jenny's brother Abraham managed to survive.

> And so there were a lot . . .
> a whole lot . . .
> six million . . .
> Victims of the Holocaust.

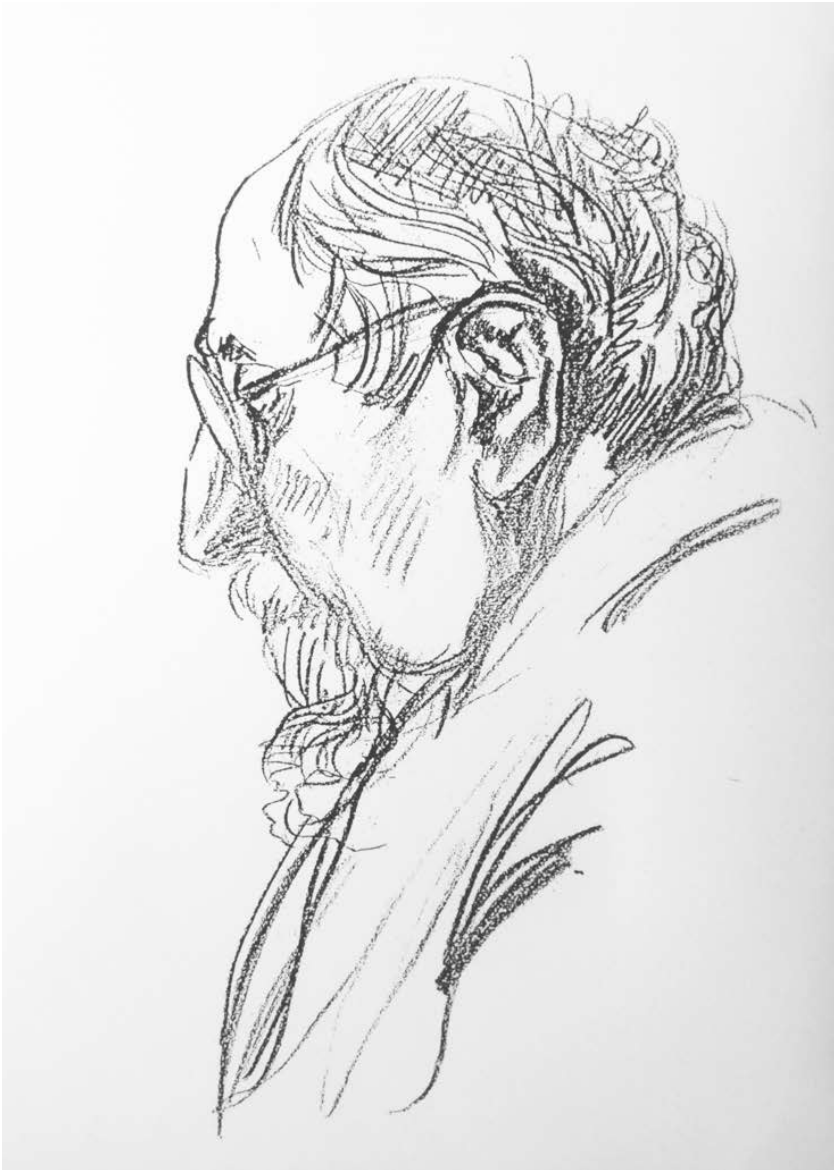
245. Ibid., 189–90.

246. Kempner, *Edith Stein und Anne Frank*, 64.

Differences based on social status, religious experience, and culture, which had seemed important to these people during their lives, disappeared when death came in view. A solidarity was born in these camps, with their common Jewish descent being the bond uniting the prisoners. The Löb brothers and sisters identified themselves as being primarily Roman Catholic, but nonetheless, they underwent the same fate as those who had been true to the Jewish faith or the Jewish culture. Unconsciously and unintentionally, there was a reunion of persons who had grown apart in the past, whether through their own actions or not, or as Hans Bloemendal once put it:

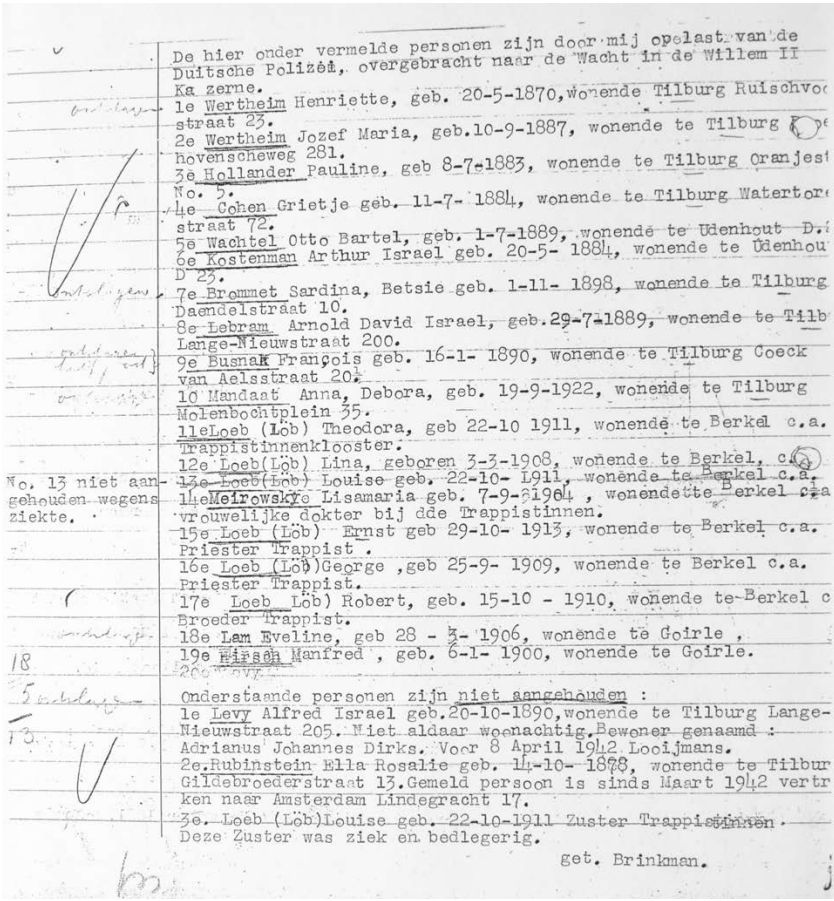
> Without intending to do so, the murderers demonstrated that the Jewish people are one, even in death. Social class and political convictions didn't matter; death only united them more strongly. And it was primarily this Jewish unity that the Nazis hated so much and, in essence, feared. We for our part, those left behind, the survivors and the generations after us, will never allow the names of our dear dead to blow away like leaves in the wind. Every year on Yom HaShoah (Holocaust Remembrance Day), the Jewish people will continue to recite the prayer for the departed, the Kaddish, for those who were murdered, as though they were their closest relatives. Zichronam Livracha. [May their memory be blessed.] May they share in the reward of the just and may their souls be bound in the bundle of Eternal life.[247]

247. Hans Bloemendal, Ter herinnering, in *In Memoriam*, v.



Grandfather Nathan Loeb, drawn by his grandson, Fritz Paradies (1905–1970).

Lina and Nathan Loeb's headstones in the Jewish cemetary in Wassenaar.



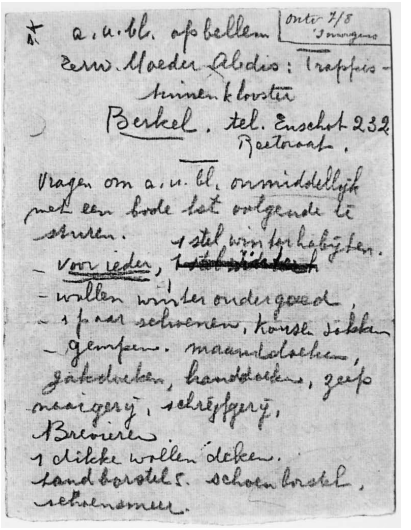
De hier onder vermelde personen zijn door mij opgelast van de Duitsche Polizei, overgebracht naar de Wacht in de Willem II Ka zerne.
1e Wertheim Henriette, geb. 20-5-1870, wonende Tilburg Ruischvoo straat 23.
2e Wertheim Jozef Maria, geb.10-9-1887, wonende te Tilburg [illegible] hovenscheweg 281.
3e Hollander Pauline, geb 8-7-1883, wonende te Tilburg Oranjest No. 5.
4e Cohen Grietje geb. 11-7- 1884, wonende te Tilburg Watertor straat 72.
5e Wachtel Otto Bartel, geb. 1-7-1889, wonende te Udenhout D. 6e Kostenman Arthur Israel geb. 20-5- 1884, wonende te Udenhou D 23.
7e Brommet Sardina, Betsie geb. 1-11- 1898, wonende te Tilburg Daendelstraat 10.
8e Lebram Arnold David Israel, geb.29-7-1889, wonende te Tilb Lange-Nieuwstraat 200.
9e Busnak François geb. 16-1- 1890, wonende te Tilburg Coeck van Aelsstraat 20.
10 Mandaat Anna, Debora, geb. 19-9-1922, wonende te Tilburg Molenbochtplein 35.
11eLoeb (Löb) Theodora, geb 22-10 1911, wonende te Berkel c.a. Trappistinnenklooster.
12e Loeb(Löb) Lina, geboren 3-3-1908, wonende te Berkel, c.a.
13e Loeb(Löb) Louise geb. 22-10- 1911, wonende te Berkel c.a.
14eMeirowsky Lisamaria geb. 7-9-1904 , wonende te Berkel c.a. vrouwelijke dokter bij dde Trappistinnen.
15e Loeb (Löb) Ernst geb 29-10- 1913, wonende te Berkel c.a. Priester Trappist .
16e Loeb (Löb)George ,geb 25-9- 1909, wonende te Berkel c.a. Priester Trappist.
17e Loeb Löb) Robert, geb. 15-10 - 1910, wonende te Berkel c Broeder Trappist.
18e Lam Eveline, geb 28 - 3- 1906, wonende te Goirle .
19e Hirsch Manfred , geb. 6-1- 1900, wonende te Goirle.

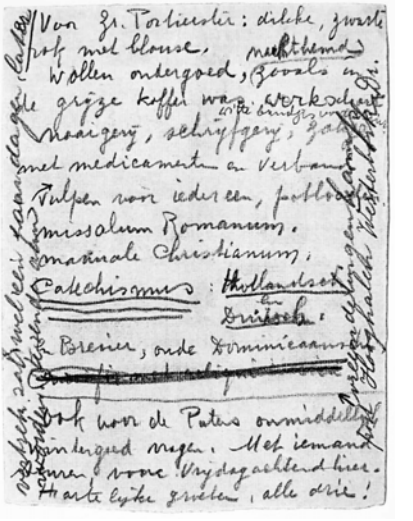
No. 13 niet aangehouden wegens ziekte.

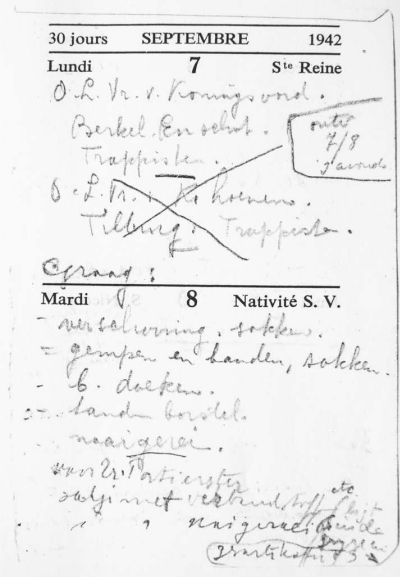
Onderstaande personen zijn niet aangehouden :
1e Levy Alfred Israel geb.20-10-1890, wonende te Tilburg Lange-Nieuwstraat 205. Niet aldaar woonachtig. Bewoner genaamd : Adrianus Johannes Dirks. Voor 8 April 1942 Looijmans.
2e.Rubinstein Ella Rosalie geb. 14-10- 1878, wonende te Tilbur Gildebroederstraat 13. Gemeld persoon is sinds Maart 1942 vertr ken naar Amsterdam Lindegracht 17.
3e. Loeb (Löb)Louise geb. 22-10-1911 Zuster Trappistinnen. Deze Zuster was ziek en bedlegerig.

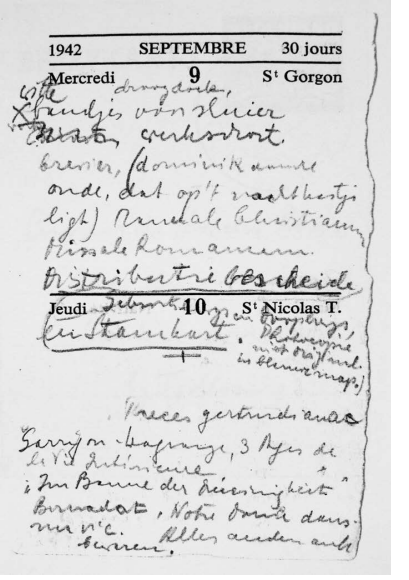
get. Brinkman.

Police Log for August 2, 1942, Municipal Police, Tilburg.









The last notes from Westerbork.

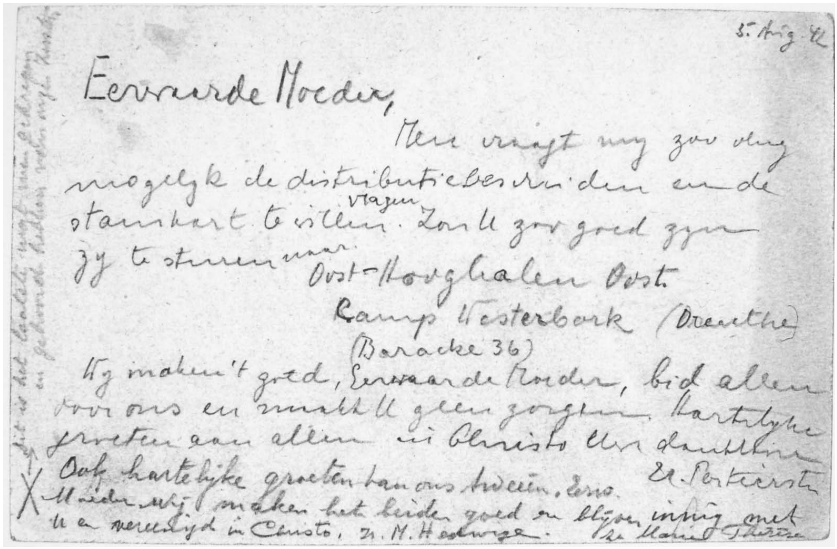
BRIEFKAART

NEDERLAND 5 CENT

HOOGHALEN -7 VIII 1942

Eerwaarde Moeder Abdis
Abdij Koningsoord
Berkel-Enschot
bij Tilburg

AFZ. L. Meirowsky
Oost-Hooghalen Oost
Kamp Westerbork (Drenthe)


5 Aug '42

Eerwaarde Moeder,

Mevr vraagt my zoo vlug mogelijk de distributiebescheiden en de stamkart te willen vragen. Zoudt U zoo goed zijn zij te sturen naar:

Oost-Hooghalen Oost
Kamp Westerbork (Drenthe)
(Baracke 36)

Hij maakt't goed, Eerwaarde Moeder, bid alleen voor ons en maakt U geen zorgen. Hartelijke groeten aan allen in Christo Uw dankbare
Ook hartelijke groeten van ons beiden. Eerw. Zr. Portiersters
Maiden wij maken het beiden goed en blijven intuig met U in verbondenheid in Christo. Fr. M. Hadewijga. Zr. Maria Gabriëla

Postcard from Lisamaria Meirowsky, from Westerbork, August 5, 1942.

Liste A.Nr.17.

Judentransport aus den Niederlanden - Lager Westerbork - am 7.August 1942.

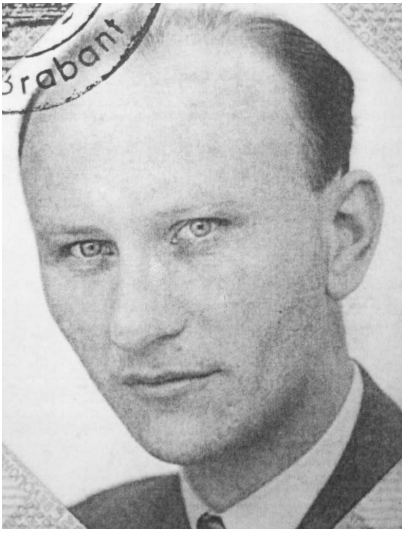
Name:(bei Frauen auch Geburtsname)	Vorname:	Geb.Datum:
Batavier	Louis	21.11.16
Spijer	Joseph	12.11.89
de Vries	Esther	5.5.91
Vogel	Joseph	13.12.16
Meirowsky	Lisamaria	1.9.04
Loeb	Lina	3.3.08
Loeb	Theodora	22.10.11
Loeb	Robert	15.10.10
Loeb	George	25.9.09
Loeb	Ernst	29.10.13
Hamburger	Johannes W.	3.2.25
Groen	Elias	24.1.00
Groen-Swaab	Rosetta	23.12.00
Groen	Samuel	7.3.32
Rosenbaum	Fritz I.	27.5.15
Korper	Moritz	29.10.17
van Ploeg	Izak	22.8.13
van Ploeg-Ketellapper	Regina	4.12.14
van Wezel	Gerriet	7.3.82
de Leeuw-v.Wezel	Rosalie	30.5.03
de Leeuw	Alexander	9.5.35
de Leeuw	Richard G.	13.2.37
Goudeketting	Hartog	18.10.23
Goudeketting-Brond	Jeanette	27.7.93
Goudeketting	Levie	9.1.97
Toff	Benjamin	10.6.17
Platvoet	Joseph	19.11.85
Goud	Bernhard	14.10.18
Platvoet	Salomon	1.10.23
Heinemann	Elisabeth	3.12.93
van Ploeg	Juda	3.10.41
Platvoet	Celina	17.8.22
Roodveldt-Haringman	Catharina	11.3.98
Roodfeldt	Abraham	6.12.93
Roodfeldt	Louis	27.5.26

Transport list for August 7, 1942, from Westerbork to Auschwitz.

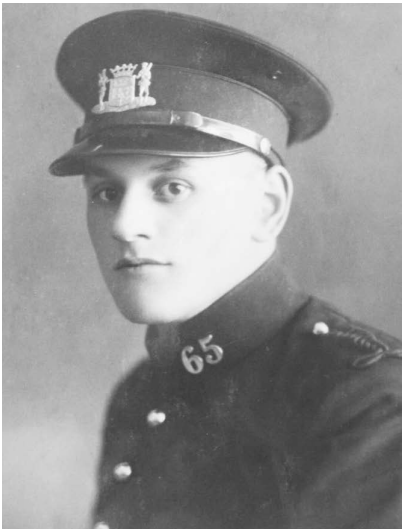
Attorney R. J. Th. van der Heijden (1898-1981), mayor of Drunen.

A. P. van de Lokkant (1903–1973), municipal secretary of Drunen.

Andreas Dekkers (1907–1988), constable of Elshout/Drunen.



Jan van Broekhoven (1904–1987), municipal official of Oisterwijk.



Jos van Broekhoven (1905–1999), Goirle policeman.

Gerhardus Delleman (1890–1954), constable of Berkel-Enschot.

Elisa Verschuuren van Besouw (1895–1977).

Karel L. H. van der Putt (1887–1945), mayor of Geldrop.

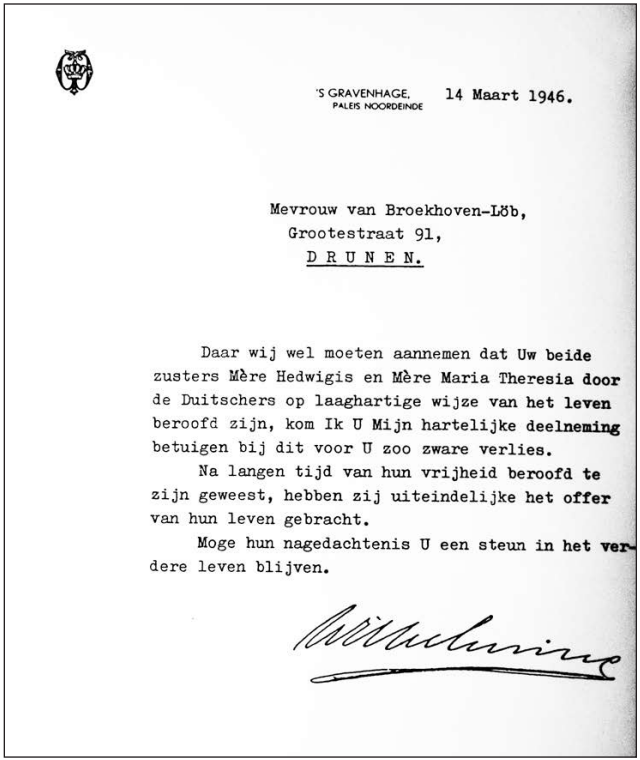
Pieter Joseph Dederen (1871-1956).

Daughter Erna Dederen (1919–).

Paula's underground address in Nijmegen, Pauwelstraat 12.

Paula's son, Loek, visiting in Nijmegen, with Erna Dederen, on January 7, 1944.

Portrait of Hans in the Blechhammer work camp (1944),
drawn by E. Rosenfeld.



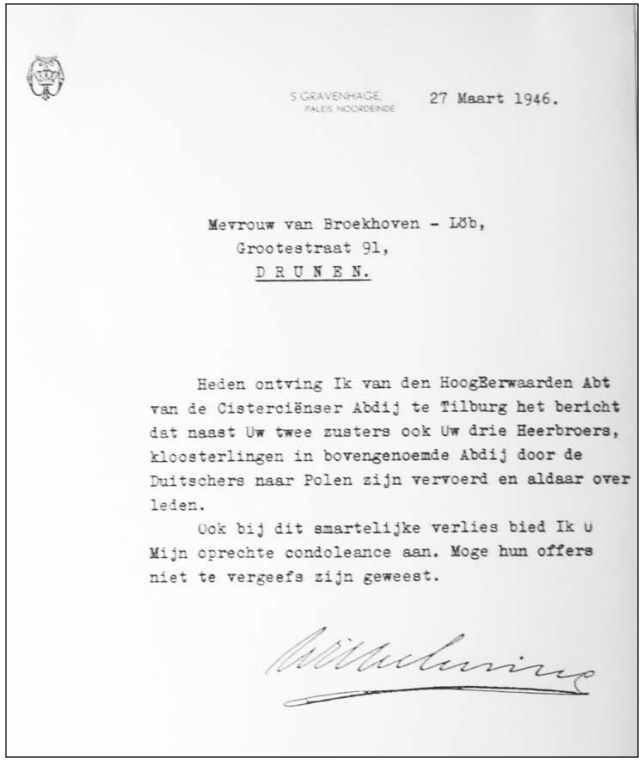
'S GRAVENHAGE, PALEIS NOORDEINDE 14 Maart 1946.

Mevrouw van Broekhoven-Löb,
Grootestraat 91,
D R U N E N.

Daar wij wel moeten aannemen dat Uw beide zusters Mère Hedwigis en Mère Maria Theresia door de Duitschers op laaghartige wijze van het leven beroofd zijn, kom Ik U Mijn hartelijke deelneming betuigen bij dit voor U zoo zware verlies.

Na langen tijd van hun vrijheid beroofd te zijn geweest, hebben zij uiteindelijke het offer van hun leven gebracht.

Moge hun nagedachtenis U een steun in het verdere leven blijven.



'S GRAVENHAGE, PALEIS NOORDEINDE 27 Maart 1946.

Mevrouw van Broekhoven - Löb,
Grootestraat 91,
D R U N E N.

Heden ontving Ik van den HoogEerwaarden Abt van de Cisterciënser Abdij te Tilburg het bericht dat naast Uw twee zusters ook Uw drie Heerbroers, kloosterlingen in bovengenoemde Abdij door de Duitschers naar Polen zijn vervoerd en aldaar overleden.

Ook bij dit smartelijke verlies bied Ik U Mijn oprechte condoleance aan. Moge hun offers niet te vergeefs zijn geweest.

Two letters from Queen Wilhelmina to Paula van Broekhoven-Löb, expressing sympathy for the ignoble deaths of her siblings in Auschwitz: March 14, 1946, for two of her sisters; March 27, 1946, for three of her brothers.

Almost sixty years later, Paula's urn was placed in Veronica's grave in the monastic cemetery of Koningsoord Abbey in Berkel-Enschot.

6

REMEMBERING AND COMMEMORATING: POSTWAR IMPRESSIONS

During January and February 1946, commemorative services were held in the monasteries of Koningshoeven and Koningsoord for the deported monks and nuns of the Löb family, as well as for their brother, Hans, even though no one knew exactly how their lives had ended. A memorial card was designed for the occasion, with a photo collage on the face of the card.

This photo collage is quite striking, but it also raises some questions. The portrait photos draw explicit attention to just these seven persons, emphatically calling their lives and deaths to mind. It is significant that a photo of their deceased brother, Hans, is placed alongside the photos of the monks and nuns, even though he did not belong to either of the monastic communities. Sr. Veronica is also included in the group portrait, even though she died in the monastery and not in a concentration camp. She was a victim of Jewish persecution, as the story of her fate has shown.[1]

1. Paula was also a victim of the persecution of the Jews, but naturally, as a survivor, her photo did not appear on this memorial card for her deceased brothers and sisters.

It is significant that the composition of the seven (the number of fullness, completion) smaller photos has been arranged according to the underlying pattern of a six-pointed Star of David. This indicates an implicit connection with the fact that the seven members of the family were picked up and killed because their parents and grandparents were Jewish. The masculine religious are arranged at the top, with the feminine religious under them, and the layman, Hans, at the very bottom. Perhaps Sr. Hedwigis was placed in the center as being the oldest, as well as being the first of the group of Dutch sisters who had come to Koningsoord from Chimay. The other Löb children are not arranged by age in the photo. Lisamaria Meirowsky was also taken from the monastery on August 2, 1942, and shared the same fate as the Löb siblings, but she was not included in this commemoration.

Br. Linus (Rob),
Fr. Ignatius (George), Fr. Nivardus (Ernst),
Sr. Hedwigis (Lien),
Sr. Veronica (Wies), Sr. Theresia (Door),
and Hans.

This memorial card gives expression to various impressions which had arisen in the monasteries shortly after the war and later. Why were memorial services held in 1946, and for whom? What thoughts inspired these commemorations? In what other ways was attention given to the arrest, deportation, and death of these monks and nuns? Already during the war, a story tradition had begun to take form, based more on rumors and conjectures than factual information. How did this story tradition evolve, and what was its purpose? How is this story tradition surrounding the remembrances and commemorations related to the image of this family that we have presented in this book, based on critical historical research?

1. Rumors and Conjectures

Once the members of the Löb family had left Westerbork, the brothers of Koningshoeven and the sisters of Koningsoord received no additional information about their fellow monks and nuns who had been arrested shortly before. Via the contractor Jos van Dijk and the representative of the brewery P. van Riel, Dom Simon had tried to find out where the prisoners were and what could be done for them. This effort yielded no results. Adjutant Bühner and others were using lies and fabrications to hold various intermediaries at bay, telling them that the monks and nuns were somewhere in southern Germany, and that he would take care of sending them clothing and other necessities; however, he appropriated whatever was sent for his own purposes. Due to a lack of information, the religious in the monasteries were all too glad to believe any and every story that sounded even a little bit positive.

At first, Abbess Gertrudis availed herself only of the services of those whom Dom Simon had called upon to procure information. Later she came in contact with Attorney Minderop, who had been appointed as advocate for the interests of Catholic Jews. In her efforts to protect Sr. Veronica, she let herself be guided by him for the most part. She too tried to find out what had happened to the sisters who

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had been taken away, but her investigations did not yield any results either, and the uncertainty remained.

Anything said in the monasteries, either in words or in sign language, about the happenings of August 2, 1942, and the further fate of the deported monks and nuns, was said by persons who had only seen part of what had happened, or who only knew about it from hearsay. Presumably the abbot and the abbess did not tell their fellow monks and nuns everything about what they did or did not do. The monastic chronicles do not offer us a reliable impression either. In Koningshoeven, the notations made during the war were edited and elaborated by Fr. Lenssen, Fr. Toschke, and others after the war, making it unclear how much information was available during the war and how much was added later. In addition, their own feelings of admiration or disapproval influenced the sketch they gave of the ways in which the abbot and the abbess handled matters.

There were also some people outside the monasteries who, with motives of personal gain, indicated that they had access to secret information. Along this line, Fr. Serafinus Lenssen related that the abbot had received a letter in 1943 from a certain Mr. Polak from Amsterdam who could provide information for a fee;[2] however, the abbot did not pursue this offer. Shortly after the war, when missing persons were being sought all over Europe, a clairvoyant offered his services to the abbess to track down Lien Löb. The rumors continued after the war, and it often happened that names and persons were mistakenly combined. Ernst Loeb received a message from the United States saying that his nephew Hans Löb was there, after having fled Germany. Ernst passed this information on to Hans's sister Paula, who was naturally all in a dither, but who was later deeply hurt when it turned out to be an erroneous message.[3]

2. Serafinus Lenssen, *Huiskroniek Abdij Koningshoeven* [House Chronicles of Koningshoeven Abbey].

3. Rolf Spiegel, *Familie Loeb.*

After the liberation, when registers of prisoners and those murdered in the various concentration camps were found, it gradually became possible to gain a bit of insight into what had happened to the countless people who had been taken away from hearth and home. Many of them were somewhere in Central Europe, in camps, in hospitals, in refugee centers, registered or still wandering around, searching. The available means of transportation were insufficient to get all these displaced persons back home quickly. In the meantime, the International Red Cross was busy taking stock of the situation and passing on provisional findings to families who were waiting anxiously for news of their relatives. The sometimes contradictory messages from the organizations offering help and information about missing persons were also fertile ground for rumors and half-truths.

The communities of both monasteries, however, had already been giving due consideration for some time to the fact that they might never see the deported monks and nuns again. The pessimism regarding their fate was strengthened by the stories returning prisoners told about the transports from Westerbork to Auschwitz, about the gas chambers, and about the mass murders. At the insistence of their abbess, several sisters wrote up their memories of the Löb sisters.[4] Something similar was also done in Koningshoeven regarding memories of Ignatius, Nivardus, and Linus. The fact that the recently elected abbot Willibrord van Dijk celebrated three Masses for the dead on May 2, 1945, in Koningshoeven indicates that they presumed that the three Löb brothers were dead. However, they decided to postpone the celebration of the next three Masses, for the repose of their souls, until an official notification of their deaths had been received.

In December 1945, Abbess Gertrudis received a written request from the Criminal Investigation Department,[5] asking for information

4. Ako file 486.

5. The "Politieke Opsporingsdienst" [Criminal Investigation Department] was set up at the end of the war to track down war criminals and persons suspected of collaboration with the enemy. In the context of the Nuremberg

about missing persons. She responded to this request, providing descriptions of the deported Sr. Hedwigis, Sr. Theresia, and Lisamaria Meirowsky, in the hope that some sign of life might possibly be found, or at least some information about their fate.[6]

Harrie van Broekhoven also received a notice in December 1945 from the Office of Repatriation of the Military Government, reporting that little could be said with certainty about the deported brothers and sisters of the Löb family.[7] There were also notices from the Information Office of The Netherlands Red Cross in April 1947 and March 1948,[8] but none of these contained anything definitive. The uncertainty remained.

Rather soon after the war ended, it became known that Hans Löb had died in Buchenwald. In October 1946, the abbot of Koningshoeven and Paula van Broekhoven received letters from Tomas Wiktor, a Polish man who had been with Hans in Camp Blechhammer in 1943. There were two letters, written in Polish.[9] Apparently he had already received an earlier request for information, since at the end of both letters, he offered his apologies for having been so slow to respond:[10]

Trials, when they were inventorying what the Catholic Church had specifically suffered, Archbishop De Jong advised them to contact the superiors of the monasteries for details.

6. Ako file 477.

7. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, file 2.

8. Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb, file 1.

9. Letter to the abbot of Koningshoeven in Ako. Letter to Paula in Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb. Both letters agree with each other for the most part. We have not been able to determine exactly who Tomas Wiktor was. The letter from Tomas Wiktor to Paula van Broekhoven-Löb is translated from the Dutch translation made by Dr. H. Renckens, Heerlen, 2000.

10. On May 16, 1946, he wrote a postcard in French to a friend—we do not know who—in Tilburg. He asked if Fr. Prior (of Koningshoeven?) could give this card to "Jean's family," since he was eager to correspond with them. He noted that he had worked with Hans in Blechhammer until January 19, 1945.

Rydultowy, October 25, 1946, Dear Madame,
Will you accept my deepest expressions of sympathy for the tragedy that has struck the members of your family, dear Madame? I am deeply shocked by what happened to Hans: I was sure he would survive everything, but nonetheless, the Lord God willed it otherwise: His ways are unfathomable. However, I am firmly convinced that Hans is now much happier than we are, because the good God has received him into His Kingdom. His life may have been extinguished, but his spirit will always be with us. He was a person with really high spiritual values. During his entire stay in the camp, God was continually protecting him, as he himself said. The whole time he was there, he was never once punished or beaten, and during work he would always meet kind people who would help him, if at all possible. I have to write a few words about myself here, but please don't interpret that as bragging about myself; try to understand that I just want to relate a little bit about his life in the camp. Hans didn't suffer from hunger; a piece of bread could always be found for him, and every feast day, I fixed him some kind of surprise. More than once we cried together over our severe adversity. From the very beginning of his time in Blechhammer, I was with him, helping him. Wherever I could, I tried to satisfy all his wishes and requests. Fate separated us during the years 1942–1945. We were preparing an escape, but things happened so quickly that our plans were thwarted. I apologize for being so late writing about this: I couldn't find a translator and was forced to write in Polish, so as not to make people have to wait even longer. In addition, I have some souvenirs of him in my possession, which I would like to enclose in this letter. For a long time, I couldn't find them, since the front has been here in this area for two months already, but today I have everything in one place—everything I can give you is here: a rosary, a pencil-drawn portrait of him, and a portrait of His Eminence Pope Pius XI of blessed memory.

I'm sending Hans's present to the monastery where he last was, as a gift in memory of him. So much for his fleeting, mortal life; now, about his spiritual life.

As a Catholic, Hans lived his life in the best possible way, dying as a holy young man. With his humility and devotion to God's will, his soul would have known no spot of sin. His laugh and his sense of humor had something supernatural, something angelic about them. The tyrants killed his body, but his immortal soul has gone on to stand before the face of the Most High, there to sing "Hosanna" for all eternity. And there also is where he receives pleas for grace from those of us still living in this valley of tears.

His faith was unshakable, living, and active—before meals, before going to bed, every morning when he got up, always with the sign of the holy cross and with a prayer on his lips—even though he was among non-Catholics, and even though they certainly laughed at him more than once. He was never angry and his deep faith brought more than one person to God; his faith kept him spiritually on his feet. A Belgian engineer and fellow prisoner told me that Hans was their spiritual leader, the star they followed so as not to fall, spiritually. His faith gave all of them strength in their difficult daily existence, and his presence among them provided a sort of invisible power which more than once protected him from punishment and beatings. Now for a few facts. In 1943, when I was drafted to serve in the armed forces, I spoke with Hans as I was leaving. Hans prayed for me, that I might return to my children unharmed. Well, God heard his prayers, and the tears he shed when I was leaving were not in vain. At the assembly ground (where the future soldiers came together for the first time) I was released and was lucky enough to be allowed to spend the entire war at home. That same year, my brother was taken prisoner and I entrusted him to Hans's prayers, and see: my brother returned, completely healthy, in 1945. I can bear witness and

attest that his protecting spirit has always been watching over me, for I've been rescued from the clutches of misfortune so many times. I am truly happy to have been privileged to have met Hans during my life, to have been able to offer him a small service during a time of need. Even though we couldn't talk freely with one another and tell each other all our secrets, I did try to feel what he was thinking and always to be a help to him, in word and in deed.

It was in 1943 that Hans sold his portion of food so that he could use the money he received to have a Mass said for the repose of the soul of his father: that was a truly heroic act; blessed are the parents who have raised such a son. The whole time that I was in contact with him, he would make his confession in writing at intervals of six months. I did try to bring him Holy Communion, but never did succeed in being able to do so.

With my hand on my heart, I'm telling you once again that your brother really felt good the whole time, that he had no serious illnesses, that he suffered no extreme hunger, that things were going well for him in general. Mr. Bremer has also certainly told you that already. If possible, ask him to write a few words, how many people survived and who they were. And send him my greetings as well. Perhaps Fritz also made it and is still alive? He was with Bremer and he came from the Netherlands. The things that happened during the war were terrible. The greed, the pushing and shoving, the envy and jealousy: they brought forth so many tears and so much pain; they left behind so many orphans and invalids. Millions died, martyrs for their people and their race, for the ideals of freedom and justice. Everything was in rebellion against God's law, but in vain, because justice always wins. Even the present times are in rebellion against the divine law. Nonetheless, righteousness will ultimately triumph, because no one can defeat God. The world should view the millions of victims on both sides as signs pointing towards a greater

respect and love for the neighbor. They've shed their blood for us, they've undergone the death of martyrs; we should be paying them a debt of gratitude. Let's acknowledge that they are the seeds sown in the world, so that love and righteousness may grow. Let's truly be children of God, acknowledging His judgments, for whatever God does is done well, for all good things come from God; evil is a sign of God's absence. But you, Hans Löb, beg the Almighty Creator unceasingly that He deign to enlighten humanity so that all peoples may truly turn their eyes to heaven, that they may acknowledge their Creator in truth, and that the Kingdom of God may begin to rule on earth in truth. May the Creator deign to remove all evil from us, through your holy life and martyrdom. Be with us always, we place ourselves under your protection!

In closing, I send you the warmest greetings from Poland, from the earth which has swallowed up the most victims of this past war, and with my apologies once again for the late response.

With God, Tomas Wiktor.

The "Mr. Bremer" mentioned in Wiktor's letters was a certain A. F. Bremer who had been in the camp with Hans, and who had already been in touch with the abbot of Koningshoeven and the family earlier.[11] He was living in Amsterdam after the war and, via one of his friends, he had gotten in touch with the Bunschot family who ran a grocery store in Waalwijk and were friends of Harrie and Paula van Broekhoven. Bremer had been deported from Westerbork at the same time as Hans Löb and had been with him in Siebersdorf and Blechhammer. He had also accompanied Hans to Buchenwald, and he knew that Hans had to remain behind there with frozen feet. Since then, he had heard nothing more about Hans and presumed that he had died. That's what he also told Paula, sometime in 1945.

11. Letter from A. Bremer to Mr. and Mrs. Van Broekhoven, in Documentation, P. van Broekhoven-Löb.

Paula received two letters of condolence from Queen Wilhelmina, dated March 14 and 27, 1946. On March 14 she wrote, "Since we do have to suppose that both of your sisters, M. Hedwigis and M. Theresia, have been robbed of their lives by the Germans in a most ignoble way . . ." And on March 27 she began, "Today I received a message from the Venerable Abbot of the Cistercian Abbey in Tilburg saying that, besides your two sisters, your three brothers, who were monks in the above-mentioned Abbey, were also deported to Poland by the Germans and died there." At that moment, there was still no absolute certainty about the death of the deported monks and nuns, due to lack of proof, but the conjectures were quite strong.

During the years 1946–1948, members of the Van Gelder family and the Loeb family also turned to the abbot seeking information about how things had gone during the war and about what had happened to the Löb children. Abbot Willibrord responded to their letters, sharing the information which he, at the time, thought was correct.[12]

A list of the persons who had died in the various camps finally appeared in a supplement to *De Nederlandse Staatscourant* [The Dutch Government Gazette] on April 27, 1950. The names of the deported monks and nuns were listed, with the suffix "O," which stood for Oswiecim (Auschwitz), and the camp numbers with which they had been registered in Auschwitz.[13] This information was partly based on German administrative records which had been confiscated by Russian soldiers.

No. 43777 Ernest Löb, died August 19, 1942
No. 43778 George Löb, died August 19, 1942
No. 43779 Robert Löb, died September 30, 1942
No. 43780 Lina Löb, died September 30, 1942
No. 43781 Theodora Löb, died September 30, 1942

12. Akh F Löb 8, letter, A. van Gelder in Antwerp, August 1946; Paul Loeb in The Hague, February 3, 1947; R. Bromberg, Sr., October 6, 1948.

13. Ako file 474.

Now there was certainty regarding the fate of the monks and nuns. It was also clear that Nivardus (Ernst) and Ignatius (George) had not been executed by firing squad in 1943, as had been presumed in 1944, but had died even earlier in the gas chambers, and that Hedwigis (Lien), Theresia (Door), and Linus (Rob) had met the same fate a few weeks later.[14] After publication in April 1950, this factual information did not become immediately known everywhere, and during the years which followed, not everyone accepted it as being true. The earlier rumors continued to circulate for quite a while yet.

Even though the place and the date of their deaths were now established, the uncertainty surrounding what had happened between their departure from Westerbork and their death in Auschwitz continued to exist. Conjectures about how it might have been were used to relieve this uncertainty and, based on these conjectures, impressions were formed and passed on within the framework of commemorations in which specific intentions sometimes had the upper hand over the facts.

2. Commemorations and Their Hagiographic Bias

On December 26, 1945, Fr. Bavo van Ham, the chaplain of Koningsoord Abbey, preached a sermon in which he linked the liturgical feast of the martyrdom of Saint Stephen, seen as a witness to

14. According to an announcement made in 1990 by the International Tracing Service based in Bad Arolsen, Linus would have died at 4:20 p.m., September 6, 1942, of "heart and circulatory problems." Cited by P. Hamans, ed., Nationale Raad voor Liturgie [National Liturgical Council] (publisher), *Getuigen voor Christus. Rooms-katholieke bloedgetuigen uit Nederland in de twintigste eeuw* [Witnesses for Christ: Roman Catholic Martyrs from the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century], 's-Hertogenbosch, 2008, 599. Hamans does not mention his source, and it is not clear what documentation the International Tracing Service might have used on which to base this announcement.

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the faith, with the (presumed) deaths of the deported monks and nuns. In doing so, he set a certain tone.

In Koningshoeven, the abbot received a message from the Red Cross on January 12, 1946, reporting the death of Hans Löb in Camp Buchenwald, and he then decided that "the Office of the Dead would be sung for all the deceased members of the Löb family." On January 23, a Pontifical Requiem Mass was celebrated, during which Fr. Van Ham gave a funeral oration for the Löb brothers, including Hans, followed by the Rite of Absolution. Harrie van Broekhoven was present for this service. Paula followed it from the guesthouse, via the intramural radio.[15]

On February 20, 1946, Fr. Leo van Dijk, who was then Koningsoord's chaplain, gave the sisters a memorial conference, which he also put in writing.[16] At a later date, Fr. Cyprianus van den Bogaard elaborated the text of that conference, adding a few personal memories about the departure of the Löb brothers from the monastery. He had been standing next to Fr. Ignatius in choir at the moment they had to leave the church.[17]

The memorial card mentioned above was printed for the commemorative services held during January and February 1946, with the portrait photos of the six monks and nuns of the Löb family and their brother Hans on the face of the card. In the text for this memorial card, which was probably written by Fr. Leo van Dijk, the death of the seven members of the Löb family was interpreted as a being chosen, with their response being seen as a total surrender to God's Holy Will. Posthumously they were called upon in connection with the conversion of the Jews, as is witnessed by words such as these:

15. Serafinus Lenssen, *Huiskroniek Abdij Koningshoeven 1881–1956* [House Chronicles of Koningshoeven Abbey 1881–1956], 302. At that point in time, women were not admitted inside the monastery, so Paula listened from the guesthouse while Harrie went inside, to the church.

16. Ako file 461.

17. Akh F Löb 10.

> So that Jesus' life might be revealed in the other victims,
> who were their brothers in the flesh.

Their father and mother had worked hard for the Israel Apostolate, and now the death of these monks and nuns was being interpreted as a sacrifice for their desired conversion of other Jews, who were their brothers in the flesh. The fact that they were killed because they were Jewish was neither ignored nor suppressed, but the emphasis lay on the fact that their parents were converts. There is no documentation, however, about whether the Löb children themselves regarded their imprisonment and death as a sacrifice for the conversion of the Jews—comments in that direction originate with others, and at a later date. Nonetheless, that was the impression given by the memorial card in 1946, along with the idea that their imprisonment and death should be interpreted as martyrdom. The abbot and the abbess authorized this hagiographic tale by encouraging the wide distribution of the memorial card.

About this same time, at the request of the abbess, several sisters wrote up their memories of the Löb sisters and what had happened on August 2, 1942, but that did not reveal any new facts. Sr. Gerarda van den Bogaard wrote about her memories of Door and Wies when they were in the novitiate together in Chimay. Sr. Hubertina Lenssen noted a few things about the fate of Veronica and Hans Löb during the war. The abbess also asked Sr. Judith Mendes da Costa for information about what she had gone through together with the Löb sisters in Westerbork. Lastly, Sr. Agnes Maria, JMJ, who was working in Hoogerheide when Lien Löb was studying at the teachers' school there, was asked to share her memories.[18] On April 1, 1946, she related that Lien, shortly before leaving for Chimay in 1928, had told her that she wanted to become a Trappistine in order "to offer her life for the conversion of the Jews, and especially for her own family." Presumably this interpretation came from Sr. Agnes Maria

18. Ako file 486.

herself, since Hedwigis had never mentioned such a motive in any of her own letters.

Jos Juten published an article about the Catholic-Jewish Löb family being almost completely exterminated by the Nazis in his newspaper, *De Avondster* [The Evening Star], in September 1946.[19] He briefly related the story of the conversion of Lutz and Jenny, and then spoke of the Löb family in Bergen op Zoom, followed by a short synopsis of what had happened on August 2, 1942, in both monasteries. According to oral tradition, Ignatius and Linus could have escaped, but they did not, so as not to endanger their fellow monks. In the inflated language of the time, Juten indicated that Br. Linus had been planning on "going underground," but he "recovered the courage to suffer." He presumed that the sons and daughters of the Löb family had endured their martyrdom heroically. "If reports are correct," added Juten conditionally, then the three brothers stayed together, being murdered beside a grave which they had first had to dig themselves. There was no indication of who had spread this report. According to another anonymous source, Nivardus (Ernst) would have called out, "For the novitiate of Koningshoeven!" just before he died. It seems highly improbable that anyone would have heard these words from Fr. Nivardus and then been able to pass them on; they sound more like pious figments of someone's imagination.

Van Dijk who, as associate pastor, was often a guest in the home of the Löb family, and who had become a good friend of George Löb's, wrote an article in 1947 which he entitled "They have followed in the footsteps of Christ."[20] With these words, he gave an explicitly

19. "Een katholiek-joodse familie bijna geheel uitgemoord door de nazi's" [A Catholic-Jewish family almost completely exterminated by the Nazis], in *De Avondster* [The Evening Star], September 17, 1946.

20. Ako file 484. This article was published in January 1947 as "In Christus' voetstappen zijn zij getreden" in *De Heraut van het H. Hart* [The Sacred Heart Herald]. Fr. Mauritius Pelizaeus, a German monk of Koningshoeven, translated this article into German for the Trappistine sisters of Maria Frieden

religious interpretation to what had happened to the Löbs, setting the tone for most of the publications about this family that would later appear. In both monasteries, this text began to serve as a basic guideline for further interpretation of the events of August 2, 1942.

Van Dijk began with the article which Lutz Löb had published in *De Beiaard* [The Carillon] in 1925, adding a few bits of information which he had heard during his visits with the family. In doing so, he mistakenly described Lutz's family as being a pious Jewish family, with its members active in the banking business and the clothing industry. He related that Jenny had received her diploma in piano at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam [Amsterdam Conservatory], that she came from a well-to-do artistic family which was indifferent about religion, and that, as a student, she had idolized the ideas about community promoted by the writer-psychiatrist Frederik van Eeden. Then Van Dijk elaborated on Lutz's conversion and his pious way of life during the years that the family lived in Bergen op Zoom and the children were entering the monastery, one after the other.

Van Dijk described the three brothers, George, Ernst, and Rob, as "all three sturdy, tough, religious men, real monks." He spoke of Lien's plans to join the teaching congregation where she was going to school, but, according to Van Dijk, she ultimately chose Trappistine contemplative life in order to devote herself to the conversion of the Jews. He described the war happenings almost as if he were an eyewitness. He thought the victims did have some idea of the dangers to which they were liable, but nonetheless, when the police arrived at the gate of the monastery during Vigils and the brothers had to

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Abbey, a community founded by the sisters of Koningsoord in the Eifel region of Germany. He probably made this translation around 1950, translating quite freely and adding some notes of his own, with the intention that it be for in-house use. The handwritten manuscript has been preserved in the archives of Maria Frieden Abbey, and we presume that the German pamphlet, *Die sieben christliche Makkabäer* [The Seven Christian Maccabees] (see below), written around 1960, was based on this translation.

go with them, they did seem a bit bewildered at first. According to Van Dijk, the monks of Koningshoeven would have learned that same night that two of the three Löb sisters from Koningsoord had also been picked up.

Fr. Van Dijk's description of the reactions and words of Sr. Hedwigis and Sr. Theresia, when they were arrested that night and taken to Koningshoeven, makes it sound as if he himself had been there. Hedwigis would have said, "I just now told Our Lord, 'I offer myself to You. Do with me as You will.'" And when they arrived in Koningshoeven, she would have sprung out of the prison car and strode over to Dom Simon with the words, "Reverend Father, we're on our way to heaven!" One of the policemen would have said in surprise, "It's as if you were going to a party, Sister; and as if you were glad to be going as well." Hedwigis would have said in reply, "Oh, yes, all they can do is help us get to heaven sooner." All these words point to a very conscious desire for sacrifice.

According to Van Dijk, the monks were kept busy hearing confessions in Camp Westerbork and cheering others up, while the sisters went about comforting and helping others. According to Van Dijk, the sisters would have written, "Tell Reverend Mother to hold our places open, because we're coming back. And if we don't, then perhaps the dear Lord wants us here, to do good. I'm ready to give my life."[21]

Van Dijk reported that the monks were executed by firing squad on June 13, 1943, together with other priests, and that Fr. Nivardus, as sub-master of novices, had shown his devotion to the novitiate of Koningshoeven during his last moments. That story had already been recounted earlier by Juten.

During that same year, 1947, Anton van Duinkerken wrote an article for *Elseviers Weekblad* [Elseviers Weekly] entitled, "A Murdered Household. Lutz Löb's Family," in which he addressed a new circle

21. This text doesn't appear on the postcards which were sent from Westerbork.

of readers.[22] Van Duinkerken based his article on that by Fr. Leo van Dijk (whom he incorrectly presented as being "the abbot of the Trappistines" [*sic*]), working in a few of his own memories of the Löb family from their time in Bergen op Zoom.

Van Duinkerken was of the opinion that the other monks and nuns assumed that the seven members of the Löb family had been killed without further ado. However, the information on which he based his opinion had not been verified, and later did prove to be partly incorrect. For example, it was said that Ignatius and Nivardus had been working in zinc mines near Bochnia in Poland, and were executed by firing squad on June 13, 1943. Jos van Dijk had already drawn attention to this rumor during the war, which had led to two manuscripts by Fr. Stephanus van Langen, in memory of Ignatius and Nivardus.[23] In addition, Van Duinkerken also assumed that Br. Linus and the sisters were gassed immediately after their arrival in Auschwitz. He did not write anything at all about Paula and Deetje. He then added the following interpretation to his story about the family:

> Every Cistercian knows the power of sacrifice which personal suffering, willingly undergone, yields for the salvation of humanity.

And he closed his article with:

> The parents have died and the children have been massacred. I have nothing more to add to this than my own deepest, heartfelt conviction that the Löb children died so that something in the world might be different. When Sr. Hedwigis took leave of her abbess, she said, smiling, "Perhaps the dear Lord wants us here, to do good. I'm ready to give my life."

22. "Vermoorde familie. Het gezin van Lutz Löb," *Elseviers Weekblad* [Elseviers Weekly], Saturday, February 1, 1947.

23. Stephanus van Langen. In Memoriam Ignatius and Nivardus, June 13, 1943, Akh F Löb 13a. It is significant that Sr. Jozefa van Buuren still gives this incorrect date in 1997 in her book about the first sixty years of Koningsoord Abbey.

Both interpretations were attempts to give meaning to the death of the children of the Löb family. Van Duinkerken presumed a personal choice, overlooking the fact that the monks and nuns had not been able to make a personal choice to bear these sufferings of war; rather, the sufferings had been inflicted upon them. In his closing paragraph, he cites a sentence which Sr. Hedwigis would have uttered during her monastic profession, but nowhere had anyone mentioned her repeating this sentence to the abbess on August 2, 1942. The abbess herself would not have said that. We have the impression that Van Duinkerken himself—following the example of Van Dijk—placed these words in Sr. Hedwigis' mouth.

The earlier-mentioned photo collage of the seven deceased Löb children was printed as part of Van Duinkerken's article. The notice in *De Nederlandse Staatscourant* [The Dutch Government Gazette] in 1950 did not lead to an immediate correction of the information which had already been published. In March 1952, Jos Juten published several articles in *De Stem* [The Voice] and *Gazet van Limburg* [Limburg Gazette], with the titles of the articles in the series being different in the two periodicals, even though the content of the articles was the same. Without the slightest hesitation, he referred to the deceased children as the seven saints.[24] The first article/essay had to do with Lutz's conversion and his vision of Judaism. The headlines speak for themselves: "Jewish engineer found his way to the Church—Good reading opened his eyes—the real Jews during Christ's time were the ones who became Christians." The second article related how many of the children in the Löb family had entered the monastery, and once again the headlines clearly reveal the underlying point of view: "God had big plans for the Löb family—Lutz

24. "De moord op zeven heiligen" [The Murder of the Seven Saints] in *Dagblad De Stem* [The Daily Newspaper: The Voice], March 4, 5, and 6, 1952; "De moord op zeven heiligen, drie bijdragen" [The Murder of the Seven Saints, three essays], in *Gazet van Limburg* [The Limburg Gazette], March 6, 7, and 8, 1952.

Löb raised seven martyrs—A failure in the eyes of the world, but not in the eyes of God." The third article described the happenings during the war, with headlines such as "Jewish persecutors did not even spare monks and nuns—brothers and sisters meet each other in a prison van—smiling, the Löbs went out to meet death."

In spite of the information in the *Staatscourant*, Juten stood by his earlier statement that Fr. Ignatius and Fr. Nivardus, together with two Polish priests and two Greek priests, had been executed by firing squad on June 13, 1943.

On the occasion of the commemoration of the death of the Löb children in August 1952, ten years after they had been taken prisoner, Sr. Emerentia Peterse, OP, published, in a Flemish weekly, her reflections on what had happened during the war.[25] She had corresponded earlier with Richard and Lucie Bromberg.[26] In addition, she had access to the notes which her fellow Dominican, Judith Mendes da Costa, had made, and she had also received some information from Fr. Frehe, Lisamaria Meirowsky's confessor.

Sr. Emerentia's intention was to tell Catholics in the Netherlands about witnesses to the faith who had to give their lives for the freedom of the Catholic Church in their own land. In her second article, she paraphrased Sr. Judith's memoirs from her stay in Camp Westerbork, together with other monks and nuns. She entitled this article "The Monastery Behind Barbed Wire," indicating that the religious were trying to form a sort of monastic community within the camp, with prayer and meals in common. Sr. Emerentia omitted

25. "Tien jaar geleden. Zij gingen de dood tegemoet" [Ten years ago: They went out to meet Death], in *Het Volksweekblad* [The People's Weekly], August 9, 1952; "Tien jaar geleden. Het klooster achter prikkeldraad" [Ten years ago: The Monastery Behind Barbed Wire], in *Het Volksweekblad,* August 16, 1952; "Tien jaar geleden. Eindstation Auschwitz" [Ten years ago: Destination Auschwitz], in *Het Volksweekblad*, August 23, 1952.

26. Letters from November 17, 21, and 29, 1948. Documentation, Bromberg family, Mrs. R. Appeljan-Bromberg of Apeldoorn.

repeating that Sr. Judith was glad that she had been able to get out of that stifling atmosphere, and that she did not take part in that monastic life "behind barbed wire." In her third article, she cited several sentences from the farewell letter which Lisamaria Meirowsky had written from Westerbork to her confessor, Fr. Frehe, OP, in Alkmaar. As we have already seen, Lisamaria interpreted her situation as an opportunity to witness to Jesus and to stand up for the truth, in union with the protesting bishops:

> We're going as children of the Holy Church. We're offering our suffering, united with that of our King and Savior and Bridegroom, for the conversion of many: for the Jews, for those who are persecuting us, and for everything contributing to the speedy arrival of the peace of Christ's Kingdom.

Sr. Emerentia emphasized the stories recounted by Sr. Judith and Lisamaria Meirowsky, inserting the experiences of the deported monks and nuns of the Löb family here and there. She knew the dates of death which had been published in the *Staatscourant*, and she made use of those dates.

As a boy barely fifteen years old, Richard Bromberg had been in Westerbork for a few days, the same days as his Löb cousins. He would have seen what was going on in the camp, even though as a child he would not have been able to understand everything about the circumstances in which the adults found themselves, and their behavior. After the war, he entered the Dominican Order and studied for the priesthood. He chose the name "Ignatius" as his monastic name, partly out of reverence for his cousin, Ignatius Löb. When he was ordained a priest, he was given the chalice which had belonged to his cousin.

In 1954, Ignatius Bromberg wrote a short article about the Löb family,[27] dedicating it "In Memory of the Löb Family," as if it were

27. *Sint Willibrord Apostolaat* [St. Willibrord Apostolate], 1, no. 2 (1954): 10–11.

exclusively about persons who were deceased. Indeed, he only mentioned Paula in passing, saying nothing at all about her time underground and the forced separation from her husband and child. He emphasized the Jewish background of the Löb family and the conversion aspect, which Bromberg considered desirable. His article was based on the memorial card, which had been printed in 1946, and the texts of Fr. Leo van Dijk, which he sometimes literally followed. Here and there he added or corrected something. He thought Lutz had grown up in a liberal Jewish milieu which, as we have already seen, was not completely true. He was also incorrect in giving 1906 as the year in which Lutz and Jenny got married, but that was due to very early attempts to cover up the fact that Jenny was pregnant when they got married on October 31, 1907. Bromberg had no reservations in presenting Lutz and Jenny's children as never having denied their Jewish ancestry and never having experienced it as conflicting with their belonging to the Catholic Church. However, we get the impression that the children were barely aware of their Jewish ancestry, and that it played little or no role in their lives, at least not until the war. Either Bromberg did not know about the announcement of the dates of death in the *Staatscourant* in 1950, or he did not believe the announcement, for he alleged that the two priests had been executed by firing squad in 1943 and that there was still no certainty regarding the deaths of the others.

In 1955, Ignatius Bromberg published three more articles about the family, incorporating his own memories of the war and referring to them as "the Trappists with a Star of David," once again explicitly highlighting their Jewish ancestry.[28] He introduced the articles with a short sketch of what had happened during the war, citing in part the bishops' letter of protest and then posing the rhetorical question:

28. Ignatius Bromberg, "Trappisten met een Davidsster" [Trappists with a Star of David] in *De Bazuin* [The Trumpet], January 15, 22, and 29, 1955.

> Then is it an exaggeration to say that they died "in testimonium fidei" [in witness to the faith], since their arrest was an act of reprisal for the words written by the Dutch Episcopate?

Bromberg made another connection:

> Edith Stein was one of these martyrs; others were accompanying her, consciously offering their lives for the conversion and salvation of the people to which they belonged by birth. The Star of David shone on five Trappist habits: the Jewish symbol, worn by Christians. Wasn't that a sign that the suffering of the Jewish people also lay on the shoulders of the new Israel?

Bromberg based his first article, about Lutz and Jenny's conversion, on Lutz's idealized description in his own article in *De Beiaard*, following a train of thought strongly resembling that used in Jos Juten's article which had appeared earlier. The second article was devoted to the effects of Lutz and Jenny's conversion on their own lives and on the choices which would be made for their children's lives. Bromberg viewed the failure of Lutz's work on Spitsbergen as part of a "divine plan," the beginning of the fulfillment of the "divine promise, accomplished by the family's offering of itself in contemplative monastic life." Bromberg called Lutz a "saint-in-the-making," following Juten's example, who himself had based his thoughts on the memorial written by Fr. Stracke, SJ, shortly after Lutz's death.

In his third article, Bromberg treated the events of the war, taking some liberties with imagined elaborations. According to him, the "Germans from the Grüne Polizei" [German Police] came to Koningshoeven to pick up the Löb brothers, shouting at them in German and ordering them to hurry up. At first, the abbot would have thought it was all a mistake, since the Germans had promised not to deport Jews who had been baptized before January 1, 1941. Bromberg was also able to relate that Bishop Mutsaerts, who had

been telephoned in all haste, would have seen no use in any further resistance and would have said, "Let them go, in God's name, in order to avoid anything worse; we can't do anything about it." Soldiers would have also gone to Koningsoord to pick up the sisters, where they too would have been ordered to hurry. As if he himself had been an eyewitness, Bromberg related the last words spoken by the abbot at the gate, outside Koningshoeven Abbey: "Be sure you always remain true children of the Cistercian Order."

According to Bromberg—and certainly, with his pious imagination, he sincerely believed this—Fr. Ignatius and Fr. Nivardus had Mass wine and hosts in their baggage, but they never had an opportunity to celebrate Mass in Westerbork. According to him, they had been hearing confessions all day, sitting between the bunk beds, and had gotten sore throats from all that talking, since they were not used to speaking on a regular basis. But they would have also been a great comfort to many, and this is where Bromberg added his own memories and experiences. He was of the opinion that the Löbs, in all their optimism, were convinced that they would be able to continue their pastoral work in Germany. Once again, he stated that the two priests had been working in Bochnia in 1943 and had been executed by firing squad, quoting an anonymous informant who spoke of the admirable conduct of the Löb brothers there.

In all of his articles, Bromberg consistently emphasized the connection between Judaism and Christianity, referring to the Löbs as a "converted Jewish family." We may add, however, that even though the parents were converts, the children had grown up within a very natural and quite obviously Catholic milieu. Yes, their parents were Jews, but the children did not regard themselves as being Jewish until they were branded as such by the occupying forces during the war. Bromberg concluded his article with a brief canonization:

> Every morning the Church prays, "Pretiosa est in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus," precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His holy ones.

In 1962, a cross commemorating the deported Löb brothers was placed in Koningshoeven's monastic cemetery. This cross bore an inscription stating that Fr. Ignatius, Fr. Nivardus, and Br. Linus had died in Auschwitz in 1942 "for the name of Christ."[29] A memorial service was also held and, for that occasion, Fr. Anselmus Terstegge published a booklet entitled: *Ter Herinnering aan onze Joodse Medebroeders en hun familie* [In Memory of our Jewish fellow monks and their family], which was later more widely distributed.[30] The title gives the impression that he attaches more importance to the Jewish background of the brothers than previously had been the case, but he does so only in a very limited way, by paraphrasing Lutz's conversion story as Lutz himself had described it in his article in *De Beiaard*.

Terstegge gives a romanticized portrait of the Löbs' family life in Bergen op Zoom, where it was said to have been seriously religious but, at the same time, always cheerful and festive. He quite briefly describes the period when the children were entering the monastery and their subsequent monastic life, relying on his own memories and those of his fellow monks. His account reflects the general view prevalent within the monastic communities that the strong familial bonds among the Löb siblings were what had spurred them on to make the same choices regarding a way of life and to remain together in the same monastery. Terstegge then elaborates at length on Br. Nivardus (Ernst), for he had known him quite well personally, and he had also had access to a manuscript in which another monk had

29. The inscription read: *Memoria Fratrum Nostrorum Nonni Ignatii, Nonni Nivardi Fratris Lini e familia Löb qui anno 1942 in Oswiecim perierunt pro Christi Nomine* [In memory of our brothers, Fr. Ignatius, Fr. Nivardus, and Br. Linus, of the Löb family, who perished in Auschwitz in 1942 for the Name of Christ]. In 2005, this memorial cross in the cemetery was replaced by a monument on the grounds of the monastery, commemorating other monks who had also been killed. The present memorial bears a representation of the altar built by Abraham for the sacrifice of his son Isaac, but now a globe, representing the whole world, is lying on the altar.

30. Akh Berkel-Enschot, 1962, in-house publication, limited edition.

written up his own memories of Br. Nivardus. For his descriptions of the events during the war, Terstegge draws heavily from Fr. Van Dijk's stories and Fr. Bromberg's articles. He also adds a reference to a certain Fr. Hopster, SVD, who had made the statement that it was reasonable to assume that "these monks and nuns died 'in testimonium fidei' since they were taken prisoner as an act of reprisal against the bishops: the intention was to strike against the bishops and the Church by arresting Jewish Catholic religious and taking them prisoner."[31]

Besides the straightforwardness of Fr. Hopster's logic, it is also significant that a separate position was awarded to Jewish Catholics who were members of religious orders. He does not speak of Jewish Catholic laypersons in terms of witness and martyrdom, and he says nothing at all about the millions of other Jewish victims. Terstegge went along with this narrowed perspective, making it seem as if the Germans only had it in for monks and nuns.

In his version, Terstegge also makes reference to a monk who advised Fr. Ignatius to flee. Possibly this did occur, but Terstegge does not mention the name of the other monk, and no one later confirmed (in writing) that he had so advised Fr. Ignatius. Fr. Ignatius would have responded—still according to Terstegge—with a question regarding the consequences that might have for the house: if the Löb brothers did not present themselves, then the policemen would threaten to shoot down ten other persons. It is not probable that the Dutch police officers would have uttered such a threat. There is no knowledge of such a threat being uttered in similar cases of persons being arrested in other monasteries. That story was probably related

31. Terstegge, *Ter Herinnering* [In Memory], 21. He didn't indicate where the statements of a certain Fr. Hepster could be found, nor what he had used for his sources of information. For that matter, elsewhere (in the German publication by L. Frequin and Terstegge, 63, see below p. 542) the name "Fr. Hopster" is used, referring to Fr. H. Hopster, SVD.

as a means of revealing the heroism and the desire for sacrifice of, in this case, Fr. Ignatius.

Fr. Nivardus would have remained quite calm, just using sign language to tell his fellow monks, "See you later." In the guesthouse, he would have told one of the monks who was there (that would undoubtedly have been Protasius, the guest master), "Just pray good; we're entering the Way of the Cross, headed for martyrdom."[32] That is something which can no longer be checked or verified, but the choice of words gives the impression that someone placed them in Fr. Nivardus's smouth after the fact. At that moment, could he have had any idea that death was awaiting him?

Linus's first reaction would have been, "They're not going to get me," but (Terstegge relates)[33] "when the serious reprisals which the community could suffer were pointed out to him, he immediately abandoned all resistance and went to serve Fr. Ignatius's Mass. At the end of the Mass, Linus asked a few of his fellow monks to support him with their prayer: 'that I may persevere.'" Linus's spontaneity, whitewashed with piousness: it is difficult to determine how real the threat of reprisals for the entire community really was, but if this story were to be true, then Linus's fellow monks would have actually urged, or even insisted, that Linus offer himself for the monastery.

Among the sisters, it was principally Hedwigis who would have made significant comments, revealing their surrender and even their delight. She is said to have cried out that they were going to heaven. Does one have to conclude from this that she knew they would die? Why would she have presumed that? It was only a matter of being arrested, and possibly being deported to the East.

Terstegge bases his description of their stay in Camp Westerbork on the memories Sr. Judith Mendes da Costa committed to paper. A few days after the Löb brothers and sisters had left Westerbork to go to Auschwitz, Dom Simon would have received a letter from

32. Terstegge, *Ter Herinnering* [In Memory], 22.

33. Ibid.

Sr. Judith, who in the meantime had been set free and so was able to return to her monastery. She would have been full of praise for the exemplary behavior of the Löb brothers and sisters, "who in a truly sacrificial way had made themselves available to serve their companions in adversity." She would have concluded her letter with, "The Löb brothers and sisters have departed for Germany, cheerful and in good spirits."[34]

Terstegge cites Ignatius Bromberg's description of their stay in Westerbork, followed by the sobering facts as they had been published in *De Nederlandse Staatscourant*, omitting the persistent story about the death of the priests in June 1943. He briefly relates how things had gone for Sr. Veronica, Hans, and Paula Löb, mentioning Tomas Wiktor's letters and quoting the words of an anonymous Belgian engineer who had been a prisoner with Hans, and for whom Hans had been a source of strength and inspiration.

Terstegge, too, viewed the death of the seven children of the Löb family (after all, Paula was still alive) as a sacrifice, closing his story with the hope that this sacrifice might contribute to the acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah by the people of Israel. Once again, the Löb siblings were linked to the conversion efforts of the Israel Apostolate.

After the war, the Trappistines of Koningsoord founded Maria Frieden Abbey in Germany, and in 1962 there were still several Dutch sisters living there who had been in Koningsoord in 1942 and who had known the Löb sisters. To commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the arrest of the Löb children, Maria Frieden issued a pamphlet entitled *Die sieben christlichen Makkabäer* [The Seven Christian Maccabees].[35] This same story was reprinted and

34. Ibid., 25. Sr. Judith's letter to Dom Simon is not to be found in the archives, and it is questionable whether it ever existed.

35. Nowhere in this sixteen-page pamphlet is there any mention of the author's name, but according to Sr. Pauline de Reuver (in her letter to Peter Steffen, Dahlem, January 3, 2001), it was most probably written by Maria

republished in 1964.[36] Four years earlier, Maria Gilles, the author of these pamphlets, had published a short article in the diocesan newspaper of the Diocese of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), entitling it "*Martyrer unserer Zeit. Die Geschwister Löb*" [Martyrs of our Day: The Löb siblings].[37] The title gives a clear indication of the message she wanted to give: by using the phrase "Christian Maccabees," she was comparing the Löbs with the Jewish freedom fighters whose story is told in the Bible from a faith perspective. In a certain sense, this element of their Jewish heritage was appropriated and applied to the children of the Löb family. The comparison was not really accurate, since their own convictions did not lead them to undertake an active, violent resistance movement against the occupying forces. The pamphlet gives no explanation for this choice of a title.

The text is divided into three sections: "Das Elternhaus, Bei den Trappisten, Die Vollendung" [The Family Home, With the Trappists, The Consummation]. The first section describes Lutz's conversion and gives a sketch of an idealized family of converts. The second section continues with an idealized description of the children's vocations and their entering the monastery, but without mentioning Jenny's role as the driving force behind their religious choices. It was said that Lien regarded her entrance in the monastery as "a sacrifice for the conversion of the Jews." The third section consisted of a brief summary of the arrest, deportation, and death of the five members of the family who had been Trappists or Trappistines. Apparently Maria Gilles was not aware of the information which had been

Gilles of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). Fr. Dinter of Steyl gave his imprimatur to this pamphlet on November 15, 1962. It would have been printed in Steyl.

36. The author is not named. Published by Johannes-Verlag in Leutesdorf am Rhein. Commissioned by Maria Frieden Abbey, the Trappistine monastery in Dahlem.

37. M. Gilles, "Martyrer unserer Zeit. Die Geschwister Löb" [Martyrs of our Day: The Löb siblings], in *Kirchenzeitung für das Bistum Aachen* [Church Newspaper for the Diocese of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle)], May 15, 1960.

published in the *Staatscourant*, for she repeated the story about the death of Ignatius and Nivardus in 1943, along with the proposition that there was no real certainty about when and how the members of the Löb family had died. She did print a photo of Hans, but the text mentioned nothing about his fate during the war. Two prayers were placed at the end of this pamphlet: the first prayer refers to the Löbs as "schuldlos von Menschenhand getötet" [innocents killed by the hands of men]; the second asks forgiveness for the offenders. The text is illustrated with a family photo from around 1925 ("in happier days"), a photo of "the father on his deathbed," and the portrait photos of the seven who were in the monasteries as well as Hans, as they had also been printed in the familiar photo collage.

Curiously enough, this German pamphlet also found its way to the Dutch monasteries, but no one there went to the trouble to point out the misrepresentations and outdated information which it had incorporated. That could have been done quite easily, since Terstegge's information from that same era was readily available; however, his information was not entirely reliable either.

There was a bit of commotion when Godfried Bomans, a Catholic journalist, posed a few critical questions in relation to Anselmus Terstegge's publication in *De Volkskrant* [The People's Newspaper] on Saturday, February 13, 1965, focusing in particular on the way the abbot and abbess had acted with regard to their fellow monks and nuns who were Jewish.[38] Bomans had already expressed his astonishment to Fr. Anselmus earlier "regarding the casualness with which these persons were delivered over to a certain death; and this in surroundings which offered all sorts of possibilities for concealment, but in which not even the slightest attempt was made to conceal them." Bomans continued with: "If Br. Linus wants to escape, he's told, 'Yeah, but then *we* get it.' Apart from the fact that this threat was seldom executed, thousands of Dutch citizens did take that risk." His judgment of the situation was quite clear:

38. Akh F Löb 11, letter, G. Bomans to Fr. Anselmus Terstegge, January 1965.

"The entire atmosphere in which this drama took place is much too passive and submissive for me. I do believe that the fine line separating Christian resignation from cowardice has been transgressed in this case."[39] In his newspaper article, Bomans stated that the abbot had insisted that the monks and nuns go with the police, since he assumed that it would not be all that bad. Bomans was also critical of the far-reaching obedience and naïveté of the community of Koningshoeven at that time.

This newspaper article led several relatives to ask the abbot where they could order a copy of the booklet *Ter Herinnering*, which had been cited by Bomans. They also wanted an answer to the question as to why the monasteries had not hidden their fellow monks and nuns who were Jewish, or why they had not let them go underground.[40] The abbot did ask Fr. Terstegge to compose a reply, of which several versions have been preserved, giving an idea of how seriously the matter was regarded, but ultimately no reply ever appeared in public, nor was an answer ever sent to Bomans personally. Terstegge limited it to a clarification for his own community, as requested by the abbot.

According to Terstegge, Bomans had found out about the booklet via Bertus Aafjes. Terstegge had not sent a copy of the booklet to Bomans on his own initiative. He blamed Bomans for having requested a copy of the booklet as a private individual, and then having used it as a journalist. Terstegge's own conclusion, after reading Bomans's article was, "I must say that Bomans's reaction doesn't really make me feel good, but at the same time I have to admit in all honesty that he's basically right." At the end of his explanation to the community, Terstegge states that even though Bomans oversimplified the situation, "at the heart of the matter, he was right." Without a

39. Ibid.

40. Akh F Löb 11, letter, Norbert Loeb, February 18 and 25, 1965; Letter, Mrs. J. Platell-Groot to Anselmus Terstegge, March 2 and April 7, 1965; Letter, Alfred Loeb to the abbot, March 3, 1965. The responses from the abbot have not been found.

doubt, Terstegge was voicing the abbot's way of thinking when he mentioned that no response would be made public, due to the fact that it could only bring the communities of Koningshoeven and Koningsoord into even more discredit. The best thing to do would be to keep quiet and wait until everything was simply forgotten. "The ordinary person who has Bomans's weekly column served up as his reading fare, forgets it just as quickly as he reads it."[41]

Terstegge agreed with Bomans in wondering if it really had to happen the way it did on August 2, 1942. He admitted that everything was really meek and obedient, passive and submissive. Dom Simon had not forbidden the boys to take flight, but neither had he encouraged them to find a place of safety either. For that matter, during the entire course of the war, Dom Simon had never taken any risks. In support of the abbot's behavior, Terstegge did say that an appeal could be made to mitigating circumstances, such as ignorance and being caught off guard. But Bomans was right when he criticized the culture of obedience which prevailed in both of the monasteries. Terstegge used this criticism as an opportunity to give vent to his own views regarding Abbot Simon's authoritarianism, and to point out that such a literal, servile perception of obedience to one's abbot was quite exorbitant. In reality, Terstegge exonerated the community and placed the responsibility and lack of courage on the shoulders of Dom Simon Dubuisson, who had died in the meantime.[42]

Unsigned comments by members of the communities of both monasteries were also appended to the notes made by Terstegge

41. Akh F Löb, 11.

42. In 1969, a few more reactions to Fr. Terstegge's booklet appeared in the newspaper: "Tragedie van familie Löb begon in Berkel-Enschot" [The Löb family tragedy began in Berkel-Enschot], in *Nieuwsblad van het Zuiden* [Southern News Journal], November 19, 1969; "Herinnering. Pater schreef boekje over oorlogstragedie" [Memory: A Monk wrote a booklet about a war tragedy], in *Eindhovens Dagblad* [Eindhoven's Daily Newspaper], November 19, 1969.

regarding this issue with Bomans. These brothers and sisters do, in fact, acknowledge that the communities of that time could be termed cowardly and spineless, but they also argue ignorance as an excuse. And they are also of the opinion that not all the blame can be placed on Dom Simon.[43]

A special week commemorating Edith Stein was held August 2–9, 1967, in Echt, where she had been picked up at the Carmelite monastery twenty-five years earlier and deported. A book was published for that occasion: *Als een brandende toorts. Documentaire getuigenissen over dr Edith Stein (zuster Teresia Benedicta a Cruce) en medeslachtoffers* [As a burning torch: documentary evidence about Dr. Edith Stein (Sr. Teresia Benedicta of the Cross) and fellow victims].[44] Part three of this work contained documentary evidence related to Edith Stein's fellow victims, including "The Seven Christian Maccabees (Löb)" and "Lisamaria Meirowsky, MD."[45] The text used for the Löb family was that by Robert Kempner, discussed below, who was one of the speakers during the commemorative events held in Echt. The documentary evidence about Meirowsky was a translation of "Eine Todesgefährtin Edith Steins" [Edith Stein's Companion in Death], written by F. Stratmann, OP, which had appeared in November 1967 in the periodical *Gottesfreund* [God's Friend].

Robert Kempner was a German jurist involved with the Nuremberg trials who had helped prepare the case against Eichmann in 1961. He was also co-prosecutor during the Munich trials in 1967, when the Nazi crimes in the Netherlands were handled. (Paula van Broekhoven had signed indictments against several of the Germans who were standing trial in Munich.) While Kempner was gathering information, he had had contact with both Koningshoeven Abbey

43. Akh F Löb, 11.

44. Edited by J. de Warsage and published by the Foundation of the Friends of Dr. Edith Stein, Echt, 1967. The actual date of publication of the book was 1968.

45. Warsage, *Brandende toorts* [Burning Torch], 202–6 and 207–9.

and Koningsoord Abbey on several occasions, and all sorts of archival material had been sent to him, some of which was probably never returned—at least one can deduce that from the fact that he mentions material which is no longer to be found in the archives.

Kempner sent Abbot Willibrord an autographed copy of his book, which had been published in German and contained a summary of the indictments and legal arguments he had presented to the jury in Munich. The title gives an indication of the various levels to be found in the book: *Edith Stein und Anne Frank. Zwei von Hunderttausend. Die Enthüllungen über die NS-Verbrechen in Holland vor dem Schwurgericht in München* [Edith Stein and Anne Frank. Two out of a hundred thousand. Disclosures of Nazi Crimes in the Netherlands, to the jury in Munich].[46] He uses the names of Edith Stein and Anne Frank exemplarily to refer to what happened to more than one hundred thousand Dutch Jews. In his book he does place a certain emphasis on Jewish Catholic religious, giving the impression that they occupied a special position within the group of Catholic Jews, and within the larger group of more than one hundred thousand Dutch Jews who had been deported. Kempner took some of his information which specifically concerned the Löb family from the 1964 version of the pamphlet *Die sieben Christliche Makkabäer*, and in so doing, he also adopted the religious interpretation of the fate of the Löb monks and nuns that the pamphlet had incorporated. His book was translated and published in Dutch in 1969.[47]

In his book, Kempner compiled a number of documents and then gave a more or less objective overview of the arrest, deportation, and

46. Herder Bücherei Band 308 [Herder Library, volume 308], Freiburg im Breisgau, 1968.

47. R. Kempner, *Twee uit honderdduizend. Anne Frank en Edith Stein. Onthullingen over de nazi-misdaden in Nederland door het gerechtshof in München* [Two out of a hundred thousand: Anne Frank and Edith Stein: Disclosures of Nazi Crimes in the Netherlands, to the jury in Munich], Bilthoven, 1969.

murder of Catholic Jews in particular. Since he had not found the names of the Löb sisters in the Death Books of Auschwitz which he had available for reference, he presumed (incorrectly) that they had been sent straight to the gas chambers upon arrival. Apparently he did not have access to the information which had already been published in *De Nederlandse Staatscourant* in 1950, which had been based on the archives of the Netherlands War Graves Foundation in The Hague.

As a result of this trial, a street in Munich was named for the "Geschwister Löb" [The Löb Brothers and Sisters], which in turn was the occasion for an article by Johan van der Meer in *Brabants Dagblad* [Brabant's Daily Newspaper],[48] based entirely on Anselmus Terstegge's booklet, *Ter Herinnering*. The portrait photos from the memorial card, mentioned above, were reprinted to accompany this article.

There were also several other articles written from a hagiographic perspective, independent of the publications mentioned above that in most cases were explicitly related to commemorative events. These other articles originated within the monasteries themselves, as well as within conservative Catholic circles that, to some extent, appropriated the stories of these monks and nuns who had been picked up and murdered during the war. Such works depicted the members of the Löb family as warning signs and witnesses to the faith. The fact that so many members of the same family had entered a monastery was used to emphasize how admirable this act was in itself, and that it was worthy of imitation. In 1971, an article to this effect appeared in the conservative Catholic periodical, *De Rots* [The Rock], written by E. Buijs.

In 1972, the year commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the events of August 2, 1942, no articles or announcements were

48. J. van der Meer, "Bijna gehele familie Löb kwam om in een Duits concentratiekamp" [Almost the whole family died in a German concentration camp], in *Brabants Dagblad* [Brabant's Daily Newspaper], November 21, 1969.

published in the newspapers, probably as a result of the public debate at the time concerning commemorations of wars and liberations. Certain groups found it no longer necessary to recall, over and over again, the events which had occurred between 1940 and 1945.

In 1979, the Trappistine monastery of Maria Frieden in Dahlem published a new edition of the pamphlet which they had already published in 1962 and 1969, this time entitling it *Sieben Christliche Makkabäer* [Seven Christian Maccabees] and including the name of the author, M. Gilles. As far as content goes, there was little change, but it was then translated into English, French, Spanish, and Dutch, and became the basis of the Trappist presentation of the events surrounding the Löb children on the international website of the Order.[49]

A few years later, Br. Jacob Willebrands freely adapted this German pamphlet and published his version as an article in *Nieuws uit Galilea* [News from Galilee].[50] Willebrands was a member of the Trappist community of Zundert in the Netherlands from 1936 through 1961. He then moved to Palestine, where he became associated with the Greek Catholic (Melkite)[51] Archdiocese of Galilee. He founded a religious community on Mount Thabor whose mission was to promote interreligious dialogue.[52] An interesting aside is that the Franciscan Laetus Himmelreich, who was active in the Amici Israel movement in the 1920s, was Jacob's father's cousin and good friend.

49. http://www.ocso.org/HTM/net/stlob-en.htm. At the time of this English translation, the international website of the Order is being redesigned and a page for the Löb family is not available online.

50. J. Willebrands, "De zeven christelijke Makkabeeën" [The Seven Christian Maccabees], in *Nieuws uit Galilea* [News from Galilee], no. 130 (June 1996): 21–26.

51. The Greek Catholic (Melkite) Church is an Eastern Catholic Church in full union with the Roman Catholic Church, tracing its origins back to the Eastern Orthodox patriarchate of Antioch.

52. G. Langerwerf, "Jacob Willebrands en Lavra Netofa in Israël," in *Monastieke Informatie* [Monastic Information], no. 224 (July 2006): 155–179.

Since Jacob himself was raised with this positive attitude toward other religions, he approached the story of the Löb family as an example of a dialogue between Judaism and Catholicism.

His article, however, did contain many factual inaccuracies: for example, he was still saying that Ignatius and Nivardus were executed by firing squad in 1943, adding that this conclusion had been drawn based on a letter from a Jew who had been able to escape from the camp near the zinc mine in Bochnia, and who had given a description which sounded believable and seemed to indicate that it was the Löb brothers.[53]

An article also appeared in *Bisdomblad* [Diocesan Newspaper] of the diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1979, based on a publication by A. van Dorp which had appeared in *De Kleine Meierij* [The Little Bailiwick], the local history periodical.[54] Van Dorp had used existing documents to reconstruct the story of the Löb children. He "had gone through everything one more time, and that was his merit," as the diocesan newspaper put it. His article concentrated on the six monks and nuns whose photo accompanied the article, but the text did mention the fates of Hans, Paula, and Deetje. Van Dorp's reconstruction of the behavior of the German occupying forces is not completely accurate, and he made it seem as if persistent protest had been heard only from the Catholic Church.

Van Dorp presumed that the religious in the monasteries had not realized how serious the situation really was, and that that was the reason why the monks and nuns had not gone underground in

53. Willebrands, 25. This letter probably never existed.

54. "De Joods-katholieke familie Löb" [The Jewish-Catholic Löb Family], *St Jansklokken. Bisdomblad Den Bosch* [St. John's Bells, Diocesan Newspaper of 's-Hertogenbosch], November 16, 1979, 12. It is not clear why this was published at that particular time. Presumably it was simply because the article by A. van Dorp, "De kinderen Löb: een tragedie uit het jonge verleden" [The Löb children: a tragedy from the not-too-distant past], had recently been published in *De Kleine Meierij* [The Little Bailiwick] 30, no. 3 (1979): 63–75.

time. He cited Bomans's opinion, along with Terstegge's response to it, and he credited Dom Simon with having made special efforts to get the monks and nuns out of Westerbork. Van Dorp shed light on the family background by describing the conversion of Lutz Löb and Jenny van Gelder, but mistakenly supposed that it was the father of the family who had ardently desired that (at least) one of his children enter a monastery. We have seen that the mother, Jenny, was really the driving force, and that the father, Lutz, displayed a more tempered enthusiasm. Indeed, Van Dorp did not really consider the driving role of the parents, but rather suggested that six of the children had entered the Trappists and Trappistines as an expression of their own convictions and their affection for one another. Such a suggestion would imply that Hans and Paula did not share in the same affection which the children had for each other, and there is simply no evidence to that effect. Van Dorp's merit lay in the emphasis he placed on the Catholic-Jewish nature of their story while avoiding any religious interpretation. He presented his story with an appropriate objectivity, which was also reflected in the summary which appeared in 's-Hertogenbosch's diocesan newspaper.

A German publication by L. Frequin and Fr. Terstegge appeared in 1982: *Titus Brandsma—Die Geschwister Löb. Verfolgter Glaube—Vernichtetes Leben* [Titus Brandsma—The Löb Siblings: Persecuted Faith—Annihilated Life], published in Munich as part of the series produced by the Edith Stein Carmel in Tübingen. Frequin writes about Titus Brandsma, and then adds a German translation of the above-mentioned article by Terstegge, *Ter Herinnering*. This article places the children of the Löb family on a par with Titus Brandsma: they would have been picked up and murdered for their faith. However, this interpretation does not do justice to the fact that the Löbs were Jews and that the Germans had nothing at all to do with persecuting their faith.

In his booklet *Honderd jaar monnikenleven in Koningshoeven* [One Hundred Years of Monastic Life in Koningshoeven], published in

1984, Fr. Terstegge devotes one chapter to events during the war, citing the deportation of the Löbs as being the most tragic event in the history of the monastery. He also mentions that the monastic community was completely taken off guard by the arrival of "those who were implementing the arrest warrant" at the gate of Koningshoeven. His description is simple and sober, limited to factual information, and saying only that "their memory will be kept alive in the monasteries."

The newspaper articles by E. Brok (about the routes along which pilots were helped to escape during the war) and the articles by Fr. Puls (about Berkel-Enschot during the war) were of a different sort. Both of these authors were concerned with matters of primarily local historical interest.[55] Puls especially devoted rather much attention to the Löb children, but with an inclination toward the dramatic, making it seem as if the sisters had been "dragged" out of Vigils: there would have "barely been time to say goodbye and pack a bag"; and after receiving "a desperately resigned telephone call from the diocese," the brothers too were taken away. During her trips to Amsterdam and Westerbork, Sr. Veronica would have been "accompanied in turn by her brother-in-law, by Mr. Delleman, by Mr. P. van Riel, or by Mr. G. Vermeulen." However, we have seen that only Constable Delleman accompanied Veronica, and that was to 's-Hertogenbosch. Vermeulen would have helped make arrangements for her to go to the hospital in Tilburg, where he would have visited her each week and served as contact person for the abbess. He would have also been living in the rectory on the grounds of the Trappistine monastery for a short while in 1944. Delleman and

55. Brok, "Piloten [Pilots] Escape Line Goirle: 1942–1944," *Goirles Belang* [Goirle's Interest], March 1982. Fr. Puls, Twee kerkdorpen en een gehucht in Oorlog [Two church villages and a hamlet during the War], in *De Nieuwe Schakel* [The New Connection] 18, no. 39–42 (appearing on October 6, 13, 20, and 27, 1984).

Vermeulen both received a great deal of attention in these articles, in the framework of a description of local resistance efforts.

Puls also suggested that Abbot Simon and Abbess Gertrudis had (in)directly aided the resistance efforts, risking life and limb for a good cause. However, as we have seen, there was no question of any active involvement with the resistance efforts by either of the monastic superiors, even though they did make some hiding places available at certain times. According to Puls, Berkel-Enschot was lucky not to have had a collaborationist mayor appointed. Mayor Rouppe van der Voort had done his best to help persons working for the resistance movement so that "many in the village were spared human suffering." Perhaps this image was just a bit too polished: he based his thoughts on the declarations of the commission of inquiry right after the war that "hadn't seen any need to purge the municipal personnel, since they were completely reliable."

In 1985, F. Gieles published several articles about the Löb family in the periodical *De Vreugdebloem* [The Flower of Happiness], which he himself published, reverting to the hagiographic approach used immediately after the war. We could classify him along with the authors from conservative Catholic circles who used the story of the Löb family as propaganda for the faith. Gieles had the advantage of having access to information from the period in which the family had lived in Bergen op Zoom, since he had been one of Lutz's (much younger) teaching colleagues. Without any reservations, he adopted the information which Lutz had given about himself and Jenny in his article in *De Beiaard*, including respecting the family tradition of using the year 1906 as the date of their marriage instead of 1907, and so covering up the fact that Jenny had been pregnant before their marriage. He had been in contact with Jackie Juten, who had declared that her husband and Louis Feber had been witnesses at Lutz and Jenny's baptism and marriage, and he accepted her word as true without having any written proof to back it up. Gieles also consulted Jenny's manuscripts in Paula van Broekhoven-Löb's documentation and printed several concert programs which revealed

that Jenny had performed with the Roman Catholic Symphony Orchestra "Vrueghdenbloeme" [Flower of Happiness], under the direction of A. Gieles, the author's father.

At the end of his series of articles, Gieles made a rather strange connection between "the abuse which fate had dealt the Löbs at the hands of the godless Nazis" and Pope John Paul II's visit to the Netherlands in 1985: "A man, coming from the land to which the Löbs had been deported so that they could drench the Polish earth with their blood." With his choice of words, Gieles clearly alludes to martyrdom and witnessing to the faith. He also refers to the conversion of the Jews in this final paragraph:

> The engineer, Mr. Ludwig Löb, was deeply convinced that the Jewish people would convert to Christianity at the end of time. Karol Woytila, elected Pope on October 16, 1978, the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, comes from the land where six of Löb's children died, and one of his most striking appointments is that of the Jewish Catholic priest, Lustiger, whom he named Cardinal Archbishop of Paris.

The year 1992 was the fiftieth anniversary of the deportation of the Löb monks and nuns. To mark this occasion, the diocesan newspaper of 's-Hertogenbosch published an article entitled "De Trappistenfamilie Löb, martelaars van het nazisme" [The Trappist Löb Family: Martyrs of Nazism], by Peter Nissen, church historian.[56] Nissen used existing literature in his article without adding any further critical research, repeating old inaccuracies and maintaining a hagiographic perspective. He made an immediate connection with the beatified Titus Brandsma and Edith Stein, whom he called "martyrs of Nazism," declaring that this title was also appropriate for the Trappist Löb family.

56. P. Nissen, "De Trappistenfamilie Löb, martelaars van het nazisme" [The Trappist Löb Family: Martyrs of Nazism," in *Bisdomblad Den Bosch* [Diocesan Newspaper of 's-Hertogenbosch], August 7, 1992, 8–9.

Nissen gave no precise listing of sources for his article, but he did mention Fr. Bromberg's "report," by which he would have meant the articles that appeared in *De Bazuin* in 1955. He accepted the information in those articles uncritically, stating, for example, that the Löb sisters knew they were not going to survive while they were still in Camp Westerbork. He also affirmed that the brothers and sisters could be regarded as "martyrs for the ancient Israelites and for Christ" and, in so doing, he remolded the role of victim (as it appeared in the title) into a resolute choice which would determine the further course of their lives. The memorial card with the seven portrait photos was reprinted to accompany this article, with Paula and Deetje not being taken into consideration, and their Jewish background not playing an independent role.

On two occasions, following the example of Van Duinkerken and others, Nissen emphasized the strong family bonds, indicating that they were partly responsible for the fact that the three boys and three girls all chose the same monastery, but this depiction is really quite romantic. We've seen that the children were pushed in that direction, especially by Jenny, and that Dom Simon also played an important role in their choices. As in Terstegge's pamphlet from 1962, Nissen repeats that Rob dreaded having to study, and for that reason he decided to become a lay brother. However, we've already seen that it had more to do with his limited capacity for study, as well as with the fact that contemplative life was really quite a challenge for the high-spirited Rob.

In relating the events which occurred during the war, the author makes an immediate connection with Edith Stein. He also mistakenly states that all the Catholic Jews were picked up on August 2, 1942, which was certainly not true.[57] At the end of his article, fol-

57. Cf. Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror]. They estimate that there were about a thousand Catholic Jews, of whom about 215 were picked up, even though there is a stubborn misunderstanding which continues to be repeated in the literature, asserting that *all* Catholic Jews were picked up.

lowing the example of Bromberg and Terstegge, Nissen once again repeats that the Löb brothers and sisters are to be regarded as "martyrs for the ancient Israelites and as martyrs for Christ."

In the wake of the increasing attention being paid to Edith Stein and Titus Brandsma (the beatification of both of these persons was progressing during the 1980s), attention was also explicitly directed to the Löb family on several occasions. Examples include the articles by S. Söntgerath in the archdiocese of Cologne; the article by Klaas Beuker included in a publication of the Titus Brandsma Institute;[58] and the book by E. Prégardier and A. Mohr which appeared in 1995: *Passion im August (2–9 August 1942), Edith Stein und Gefährtinnen: Weg in Tod und Auferstehung* [Passion in August (August 2–9, 1942), Edith Stein and Companions: A Road to Death and Resurrection].[59] This latter book reprinted several documents that had been published by the jurist Robert Kempner in his collection from 1968, with quite clear ideological and theological connotations.

The publications about Edith Stein give an idealized description of her behavior and position in Camp Westerbork, saying that she exhibited a natural capacity for leadership and offered to help

58. Kl. Beuker, "Martelaren voor het geloof: de zeven Makkabeeën Löb" [Martyrs for the faith: The Seven Löb Maccabees], *De brandende lamp* [The Burning Lamp], no. 50 (1992).

59. S. Söntgerath, "Der Weg der Geschwister Löb" [The Löb Siblings' Path], in *Presseamt des Erzbistums Köln* [Press Office of the Archdiocese of Cologne], no. 352, December 17, 1987; "Leidensgefährten auf dem Weg in die Gaskammern. Die Geschwister Löb begleiteten Edith Stein" [Fellow Sufferers on the Way to the Gas Chambers: The Löb Siblings Accompany Edith Stein], in *Kirchenzeitung Köln* [Cologne's Church Newspaper], no. 21 (May 20, 1988): 16–17. The book by Prégardier and Mohr was published in 1995 in Annweiler. E. Prégardier studied the fates of women who had been in Auschwitz or Ravensbrück. In this context, she wrote a letter in December 2000 to the daughters of Sophie van Berckel, who had died on December 26, 1944, in Ravensbrück. Sophie van Berckel had done a lot for Sr. Veronica Löb and other (Catholic) Jews.

others.[60] However, in the memoirs of Sr. Judith Mendes da Costa and in Richard Bromberg's comments about the contacts his mother had with Edith Stein, another image rises to the surface. These texts portray her as being a quiet, withdrawn woman who, along with a few other nuns, lived in the Westerbork barrack as if she were in a cloistered monastery.[61]

60. W. Herbstrith, *Das wahre Gesicht Edith Steins* [The Real Face of Edith Stein], Aschaffenburg, 1971, 1987 (6th printing), 169–74.

61. S. Batzdorff, *Edith Stein—meine Tante. Das jüdische Erbe einer katholischen Heiligen* [Edith Stein—My Aunt: The Jewish Heritage of a Catholic Saint], Würzburg, 2000. The author relates a great deal, not only about her aunt Edith, but also about the entire family, citing comments made by other members of the family which nuance the image Edith Stein had given of herself and her family in her autobiographical notes. Batzdorff corrects a few stubborn myths about her aunt: she denies that the fifteen-year-old Edith was a confirmed atheist; Edith did turn away from a number of Jewish rituals and religious practices, but too much weight has been given to her autobiographical comment about having stopped praying at that time. Her conversion was really a process which took several years, rather than the pious fantasy about a sudden flash of religious insight while reading the writings of Teresa of Avila. For a scholar of her caliber, it was a bit odd that Edith pursued so little study of the background of Judaism and, consequently, that she gave incorrect interpretations of Jewish conduct and practices in her writings. She did feel like she belonged to the Jewish people, and she reacted indignantly to anti-Semitic comments, including later when she heard them being made in monastic circles. Within her own family, Edith quite consciously made no attempts to convert others. She was reserved about her faith and said nothing at all about the deepest reasons which moved her to become a Catholic and later to enter the Carmel, evading any questions in that direction with the saying, "*Secretum meum mihi*" [that's my secret]. Her autobiographical notes were a matter of conflict during her process of canonization: Edith herself had stipulated that her writings about her youth and her family were not to be made public as long as even one of her brothers and sisters were still alive; within the framework of her canonization process, though, there were persons who wanted precisely these sections to be made public. In addition to Edith, several other members of the Stein family lost their lives in the Holocaust—

The journalist Arie Kuiper published a biography of Abel Herzberg in 1997,[62] basing his information about the family of Abel's wife, Thea Loeb, on a letter she had written to her grandson Mosheh on November 22, 1984.[63] His information about the Löb family was borrowed from the article published by Van Duinkerken in 1947, along with its outdated perspective.

B. Beaard and E. Spee published an article about "De Tragedie van de familie Van Broekhoven-Löb" [The Tragedy of the Van Broekhoven-Löb Family] in the local history newspaper of Drunen.[64] Harrie van Broekhoven had taught at the boys' school in Drunen from 1935 until 1947. The Van Broekhoven family had lived in Drunen from 1941 through 1947. These local connections were the occasion for an article which primarily concerned the Löb family. The authors do not mention the sources on which they based their article,[65] but they do present Leonie Vossen as an eyewitness who remembered seeing Paula leave home on her bicycle at the beginning of August 1942. In 2002, Ms. Vossen was living in the house in which Harrie and Paula had lived during the war. The article contains a number of inaccuracies and, curiously enough, the name of the Dederen family is omitted in the section about Paula's going underground. A significant detail which we have found nowhere else is the statement that Paula and

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her sister Rosa accompanied Edith on the same transport—and, according to her niece, the family lamented the fact that all the attention was directed exclusively toward Edith.

62. A. Kuiper, *Een wijze ging voorbij. Het leven van Abel J. Herzberg* [A wise man passed by. The life of Abel J. Herzberg] (Amsterdam, 1997).

63. Abel J. Herzberg Collection, Letterkundig [Literary] Museum. A. Kuiper showed us this letter, written in English.

64. B. Beaard and E. Spee, "De tragedie van de familie Van Broekhoven-Löb" [The Tragedy of the Van Broekhoven-Löb Family], *De Rechte Eindjes. Historische aantekeningen uit onze buurt* [The Straight Pieces: Historical Notes from Our Neighborhood], no. 26 (May 2002).

65. We presume that they based their information primarily on Fr. Anselmus Terstegge's *Ter Herinnering*.

Harrie were married in the monastic church of Koningsoord Abbey so that Paula's sisters could be present for the service on the other side of the grille. That is not true.[66] According to these authors, the mayor of Drunen would have agreed with Paula and Harrie in 1941 that he would keep quiet about Paula's Jewish descent so she would not be picked up.[67] The authors also related that written contact between Harrie and Paula while she was underground had been mediated by Simons, the associate pastor of Drunen, who would then have acquired the nickname, "Postillon d'Amour" [French for "Love's Pony Express"].[68] For the most part, this article restricted itself to reporting facts, without any trace of hagiographic bias.

This article in the local history newspaper then became the occasion for an article by K. van den Oord, published in *Brabants Dagblad* [Brabant's Daily Newspaper] on May 31, 2002,[69] in which he related

66. This detail gives the impression that the authors were in contact with Paula van Broekhoven-Löb and didn't verify the information which she shared with them. It's noted in her wedding booklet that they were married in the parish church of Berkel-Enschot. Cf. Documentation L. van Broekhoven and more detailed information from the Van Broekhoven family.

67. This is possible, but there are no sources which confirm it.

68. There is nothing known of Associate Pastor Simons delivering letters to Paula's underground address in Nijmegen. Nothing which appears in the memories which Erna Dederen committed to paper would indicate this and, when asked about it, Erna herself did not seem to remember anything. She even said that she would have certainly known about it, if there really had been such an exchange of letters (P. Steffen's interview with Mrs. E. Geijtenbeek-Dederen, April 14, 2008). It seems as if the authors wanted to add a bit more local color to Paula and Harrie's story, so either they did not stick too closely to the facts, or they accepted a flowery story from Paula as being true.

69. K. van den Oord, "Zeven kinderen uit familie Löb in oorlog omgekomen. Drunense buurtvereniging 't Rechte Eind diept grondig de geschiedenis uit van buurtbewoners" [Seven Children from the Löb Family Died in the War: The Drunen Residents' Association, "The Straight Pieces," studies the history of their neighbors in depth], in *Brabants Dagblad* [Brabant's Daily Newspaper], May 31, 2002 (part of the series, "Als de dag van gisteren" [As if it were yesterday]).

how Bart Beaard had gotten the idea to look up something about the history of Mr. Harrie van Broekhoven and to publish it, principally for the 110 families who lived in that part of Drunen. He also recounted how Beaard had gone to work and where he had gotten his information. He had spoken with residents of the neighborhood about the Van Broekhoven family; then he had gone to the monastery in Berkel-Enschot and had a conversation with Fr. Anselmus Terstegge; he had requested information from the archives of the diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch and the municipal archives of Bergen op Zoom; and finally, he would have been in touch with the editorial staff of the television program "Kruispunt" [Crossroads], since they had mentioned the Löb family in one of their broadcasts in 2000. In his own article, Van den Oord gave his impression of what Beaard and Spee had described in *De Rechte Eindjes* [The Straight Pieces].

As stated above, the pamphlet *Die sieben christlichen Makkabäer* [The Seven Christian Maccabees] first appeared in print in 1964 and was reprinted in 1979, when it was translated into several different languages and placed on the website of the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance,[70] giving the text a "canonical status," as it were, within the Order. In spite of revisions made within the text during the course of the years, the central theme nonetheless remained the same: the Löb monks and nuns could be regarded as martyrs for the faith.

This article opens with a citation of the text inscribed on the granite memorial cross in Koningshoeven's monastic cemetery, the final phrase of which is: "*perierunt pro Christi Nomine*" [they perished for the name

70. http://www.ocso.org/HTM/net/stlob-en.htm. At the time of publication of the original Dutch edition, on the web page entitled "Saints, Blesseds, and Martyrs," this text appeared in a version adapted by Fr. Ansgar Christensen, then a monk of New Melleray and now a monk of Tre Fontane in Rome. Since 2008, their characterization as "Christian Maccabees" had been dropped and the web page entitled "The Holocaust of the Löb Family." At the time of this English translation, the website is being redesigned and a page for the Löb family is not available online.

of Christ]. The rest of the article is an elaboration of that motif. The parents, Lutz and Jenny, are praised for their exceptional insight, shown in their leading three sons and three daughters to the same monastery. Such insight would seldom occur nowadays (in the 1960s and later). The article affirms that the Löb monks and nuns were arrested by the Nazis purely because of their Jewish descent. However, it goes on to state that they showed heroic faith and courage in their sufferings, ultimately dying for their faith without any bitterness.

There is a short description of Lutz Löb's family background, education, conversion, and zeal for the faith, which, apart from a few historical inaccuracies, is a good summary. The children are described as entering the monastery at their own personal initiative, with no mention of the driving force of their mother, Jenny. Lien was said to have viewed her entering the monastery as a sacrifice for the conversion of the Jews. Then a short characterization of the personality and character of each of the monks and nuns is given, with Nivardus being presented as a model monk.

According to this article, Catholic Jews (in this case, the Löb monks and nuns) can be called martyrs because they were picked up in reprisal for the bishops' protest against Jewish persecution. The Germans would not have dared to arrest the bishops themselves; instead they intended to silence the bishops by picking up the Catholic Jews. This action by the Germans was seen as being directed against the Catholic faith and against the doctrinal authority of the Church, and for that reason the Catholic Jews who were arrested and later killed can be regarded as martyrs.

The events of Sunday morning, August 2, 1942, are presented in the form of a dialogue, as if someone who was present had heard the words and written them down. Someone would have asked Hedwigis, "Don't you want to flee?" She would have then replied that she had abandoned herself to God's will. In response to a similar question, Ignatius would have answered that they had threatened to shoot ten monks dead if the brothers did not come along voluntarily. He would have also told a fellow monk, "See you in heaven!" When the

Löb brothers and sisters met beside the police van and greeted each other cheerfully, Hedwigis would have told the astonished police officers that they were only helping them get to heaven more quickly.

According to this article, no fewer than three hundred Catholic Jews were picked up on August 2, 1942. Edith Stein would have been the leader of a group of religious who prayed the Divine Office together in Westerbork. According to an unnamed witness, Ignatius and Nivardus would have been kept busy hearing confessions, while the sisters were helping others, especially children. The execution of Nivardus and Ignatius, together with other priests, was mentioned, referring to an unconfirmed report in an anonymous letter. In conclusion, there was a description of how things had gone for Sr. Veronica, Hans, and Paula during the war.

And now it's more than forty years later. There was a need for a new pamphlet, which led the abbot of Koningshoeven and the abbess of Koningsoord to request the initiation of an investigation based on original documentation and data, which in turn developed into a more extensive research prospectus, leading to this book. In the meantime, there was still a need for a convenient-sized booklet. The retired Abbot Korneel Vermeiren, together with Sr. Gertrudis van der Donck, put together such a booklet, entitling it: *Het gegeven leven van de broeders en zusters Löb* [The Given Life of the Löb Brothers and Sisters]. It was published as one volume in a series of nine booklets treating Martyrs and Blesseds (canonically recognized as such) of the Order, presenting them as witnesses to Cistercian life and spirituality. In a certain sense, the Dutch title of this booklet could be said to be misleading: the children of the Löb family did not "give" their lives of their own free will, their lives were brutally taken from them. In December 2006, these booklets were translated and printed in several languages for distribution within the Order. Even though they were primarily intended for in-house use, they were also made available for sale to the public.[71]

71. Published by Trappiste Vitorchiano Italia, 2006. The English title of this series is "Cistercian Witnesses of Our Time." The English translation of the

This booklet was based on a text entitled "The Tragic Story of the Lives of our Jewish Sisters and Brothers," which Korneel Vermeiren and Gertrudis van der Donck had written for the history page of the website of Koningshoeven Abbey.[72] The image used for the cover of this booklet is a manipulated composition of the Löb monks and nuns who died during the war, along with their brother Hans, against a blurred background of the entrance to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. Paula does not appear in the photo, and neither her story nor Hans's story is included in the text.

3. Interpreting the Story According to the Model Used for Martyrs

We've seen that, in 1945, Fr. Bavo van Ham gave a religious interpretation to the fact that the children of the Löb family were picked up and deported, using the term "martyrs for the faith" without any hesitation when referring to the monks and nuns. The interpretation given to these dramatic events within the monasteries occurred, first and foremost, in a liturgical atmosphere using the language of faith, with all the symbolic nuances evoked within the context of the Catholic Church of that time. We may presume that it was not really the conscious intention of the authors of the various commemorative texts to distort history, but gradually the religious terminology did become interwoven with the information which was considered to be historically factual, suggesting that everything was part of an historical account.

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booklet about the Löb brothers and sisters bears the title: "The Tragic Story of the Lives of Our Jewish Sisters and Brothers." The other booklets in the series are entitled "Father Romano Bottegal," "Blessed Joseph Cassant," "Blessed Cyprian Tansi," "The Martyrs of Our Lady of Consolation and of Our Lady of Joy," "The Seven Brothers of Tibhirine," "Blessed Rafael Arnaiz Baron," "Blessed Maria Gabriella Sagheddu," "The Martyrs of Viaceli and Algemesi."

72. Website: www.koningshoeven.nl. At the time of our research, such a text was posted on the website. When the Dutch edition of this book was published, that text was removed, in anticipation of a revised version.

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Both during the war and thereafter, the fact that a number of Catholic Jews had been picked up on a particular Sunday was viewed as a German reprisal against the Dutch bishops who had publicized their protest against the persecution of the Jews in a pulpit announcement. That was partly true. Nonetheless, the Germans did intend to pick up *all* the Jews, regardless of their ecclesiastical status. They were simply able to use the bishops' action as a means of pitting the various population groups against one another, and that was the real intention of the reprisal: breaking the unity of the Christian churches in their protest.

The idea of reprisal was connected to the notion that it had to do with a religious conflict between the Nazis and the Christian churches. The pattern of thought the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church had been pursuing since the 1930s was precisely that of a conflict between Christianity and barbarism. The Catholic Church saw herself as a victim of fascist and totalitarian regimes that were persecuting the members of the Church.[73]

The fixed reasoning followed here dictates that the Catholic Jews were picked up because the bishops had protested. Therefore, the Catholic Jews were sent to the camps because of their ecclesiastical witness. The bishops' protest, the ecclesiastical message, Christianity, and the following of Christ were all placed on an equal footing and, within this perspective, the Catholic Jews were picked up for their faith, and consequently martyrs.[74] The thought mechanism at work

73. Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror].

74. In *Getuigen voor Christus. Roomskatholieke bloedgetuigen uit Nederland in de twintigste eeuw* [Witnesses for Christ: Roman Catholic Martyrs from the Netherlands in the twentieth century], by the National Council for Liturgy, ed. P. Hamans ('s-Hertogenbosch, 2008), 507–634, the section about the Catholic Jews is also based on this same line of reasoning. This preconceived vision partly determined the selection and interpretation of the sources which were used; for that matter, very little contemporary critical historical research was done for this compendium. Pope John Paul II, in his sermon for the beatification of Edith Stein on May 1, 1987, in Cologne, also pointed out the connection

in the monasteries in their commemorations of the Löb family falls into this context.

Marcel Poorthuis and Theo Salemink have done exhaustive research into the attitudes held by Dutch Catholics toward Jews during the period 1870–2005. They propose that the vision of the war as being a clash between faith and Nazism became popular within the Catholic Church around the middle of the 1950s, with the story of Edith Stein in the vanguard. In our opinion, this line of thought was already being pursued with regard to the Löb family and the Trappists immediately following the war, rather than only emerging around 1955. Poorthuis and Salemink show how the Catholic Church's image of herself as victim led to this biased portrayal. After the war, the church had the tendency to claim the suffering for herself, to make it seem as though the church and her members had the most to endure. Such a portrayal does a great injustice to the millions of Jews who died. Since 1960, this "martyrdom of the Church" has been experienced as being increasingly problematic. However, within the commemorative culture and in the texts written about the Löb family, this thinking in terms of "martyrdom for the faith" continues to make itself felt up to the present day. This is not appropriate. We can wholeheartedly associate ourselves with two conclusions which Poorthuis and Salemink draw, after having described the attitudes and events of the war:

> The Catholic Jews who were deported from the Netherlands were not murdered because they were Catholic, but

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between the bishops' protest against the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands and the orders to pick up the baptized Jews. Cf. Batzdorff, *Edith Stein*, 188. This once again gave the impression that Edith Stein was a martyr for her (Catholic) faith, even though she was picked up as a Jew. The simple fact that she was picked up as a baptized Jew, though, is no basis for martyrdom, for that would also apply to all the other baptized Jews. If the bishops had not protested, and instead had obeyed the instructions of the German occupying forces, then that would have most probably led to nothing more for the (Catholic) Jews than a postponement of their deportation.

> rather because they were Jewish. Edith Stein and her many nameless fellow prisoners were not martyrs of a persecuted Church, but rather victims of a war of extermination waged against European Jewry.

and:

> After the war, Archbishop De Jong's courageous protest from 1942 was used for the Church's own interests. During a certain phase, the mythologizing of this protest served as a defense of the alleged "silence" of Pope Pius XII. It also served as a means of portraying the Church as "victim" of the Nazis, and of portraying the deported Jews as the Church's martyrs. For that reason, the fact that the reprisals in the Netherlands were really just part of the total war against the Jews in the Netherlands disappeared into the background for a long time.[75]

In order to continue interpreting the fate of the Löb family in terms of "martyrdom for the faith," some elements had to be added to the various accounts mentioned above, and other elements had to be omitted. And this is what has happened, as we will see below.

3.1 Omissions

In order to strengthen the concept of reprisal, various publications stated that *all* the Catholic Jews were picked up, but that is not true.[76] Alongside this unjust extension, there was also a false restriction: among those who were picked up, it was as if the members of religious orders were exalted far above the others, with nothing more being said of the role which Jewish Catholic laypersons could have

75. Poorthuis and Salemink, *Een donkere spiegel* [A Dark Mirror], 520.

76. This inaccuracy is stubbornly repeated in the literature. Cf. E. Fisher, Vorwort, in Batzdorff, *Edith Stein*; Wimmer, *Vier jüdische Philosophinnen* [Four Jewish Women who were Philosophers], 302.

played within this religious interpretation. That gave the impression that only monks and nuns could be presented as martyrs, as if they alone enjoyed the privilege of being sacrificed for the protest which the bishops had made as a matter of principle.

The monastic life of the Löb children was kept separate from the life of their birth family. To the extent that Judaism was mentioned in the stories about them, it was only regarded as the starting point for the conversion of their parents or the goal of conversion efforts. Since the focus zoomed in on the children who had entered the monastery, and then really only during the war years, the fascinating life stories of their parents were set aside, as well as the youth experiences of these monks and nuns.

The sacrifice of those who died was presented as being greater than the sacrifice of those who survived, without further ado. There was no thought given to the heavy psychological burden which many of the survivors carried throughout the rest of their lives. Concretely, in the story of the Löb family, this meant that very little was said about Paula and nothing at all about Deetje.

Sr. Veronica was not a victim of the Holocaust, but she certainly did suffer a great deal from the persecution. In those days, it would have been assumed that she, in her suffering, was being conformed to her crucified Lord Jesus Christ, that it was an act of virtue for her to offer up her sufferings for Christ. However, this theological argument was not even mentioned as being the basis for her sacrifice and her alleged martyrdom.

3.2 Additions

In order to declare someone a martyr, it is necessary to indicate a fundamental personal choice: a martyr has a choice, a victim usually has no choice.[77] These moments of personal choice were inserted

77. See also the essay by A. Herzberg, "Martelaarschap en Holocaust" [Martyrdom and Holocaust], in *Verzameld Werk* [Collected Works], vol. 3, Amster-

into the stories of what happened to the Löb children by appealing to statements and actions which could not be verified.

For example, the story of the monks' arrest was filled out with the suggestion of possibly fleeing, but Ignatius (George) and Linus (Rob) made it clear that they would not do that, out of solidarity with their brothers and to avoid endangering the entire monastery. In order to make the latter plausible, a story was told about threats which the Germans would have voiced to Dom Simon. We doubt whether the Dutch policemen, who actually had to make the arrest, would have threatened to shoot down ten monks if the Löb brothers did not present themselves. These additions make it look as though the monks themselves chose to go with the policemen and, as it were, to offer themselves for the entire community. Godfried Bomans accepted this as true and even regarded it as a refreshing sign of vitality that at least Linus would have said, "They're not going to get me." Bomans would have gladly seen a bit less passivity and more resistance.

The various newspaper articles added another moment of choice by having Hedwigis say something about being ready to go to heaven. Another example of her having made a personal choice would be the statement about her wanting to offer herself for the salvation of her (Jewish) people: Edith Stein had said something to that same effect. The authors made it seem as if Hedwigis and

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dam, 1996, 586–90. Herzberg makes it clear why he used the term "victim" and why he didn't regard the interpretation "martyr" as being appropriate. The question of how to interpret the term "martyrdom" was reexamined in the context of Edith Stein's beatification. From the Jewish side, there were two primary questions regarding this viewpoint. Cf. E. Fisher (secretary of the Commission for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs of the North American Bishops' Conference), "Vorwort für die Amerikanische Ausgabe" [Forward to the American Edition], in Batzdorff, *Edith Stein*, 181–88, especially 183. In the first place, it seems as if the Catholic Church annexes the Holocaust, granting baptized Jews a special place; in the second place, it gives expression to a triumphalist attitude which puts pressure on Jews to become converts, stemming from the notion that a Jew really counts only if he or she is baptized.

the others knew what was in store for them—namely, death—and perhaps they did have some suspicion. But in August 1942 in the Netherlands there was no indication that the Germans were really intending to kill all the Jews. No one can verify whether or not Hedwigis actually said anything like that, nor what she would have meant by such, nor to whom she might have said it.

Sr. Veronica had an abundance of personal choices, time and time again, whenever she received a call-up notice, but it seems to have been overlooked that, due to her monastic obedience, she herself chose nothing at all. It was the abbess who decided whether she would report, or whether she would go underground at any given moment.

The insertion of positive elements into the stories of the life and conduct of these monks and nuns during the war, as well as earlier in their lives, fits into this same pattern. These descriptions idealized them posthumously. Without any further evidence, it was related that the monks and nuns performed good works in Camp Westerbork—as if they were the only ones who did that—and that these works measured up to religious ideals: the priests would have been hearing confessions and the sisters would have been helping families. Perhaps the priests really did hear confessions, but who would know that and live to tell it? Perhaps the young Richard Bromberg? Sr. Judith Mendes da Costa, who was in the camp at that time, did not write anything about that. Perhaps it was an elaboration of the fact that Dom Simon had given Ignatius permission to hear the confessions of his own sisters. Naturally, the sisters were given the role of deaconesses, perfectly fitting the role patterns of that day: offering care and assistance to mothers and small children. But Sr. Judith did not say anything about this either. On the contrary, from her account we get more of an impression that the nuns were off by themselves, in their barrack, as if in an enclosure which they themselves had established, and primarily occupied with their prayers.

The Löb children's vocations to enter the monastery were presented in a lovely manner, with no mention of any problems. Their position within the family was considered, as was the choice of their parents to convert to Catholicism and to offer up almost the

entire family to God, which in concrete terms meant the monastery. However, if we look at the sketches drawn from the memories of their fellow monks and nuns, the Löbs were really not so striking or exceptional in their monastic life. The idealized image of Nivardus as being "the preeminent Trappist" was tempered by his limitations and his scrupulosity. Hedwigis was said to have enjoyed a certain authority, having the distinction of being the first of the group of Dutch sisters to enter the Order. There was nothing special mentioned about how the other brothers and sisters acted. For that matter, it was in no way intended that one stand out as an individual within the monastic community; monastic life was all about entirely offering up one's individuality for the sake of the monastery, of the abbot, of the life of faith, and, of course, ultimately for God.

The way in which Tomas Wiktor presented Hans Löb in the Blechhammer work camp is a particularly good example of such a positively distorted image: Hans was described as being very pious. It is not clear when Hans personally chose to offer himself up—actually, he was fleeing to Belgium in order to stay out of the Germans' hands. Or was he sacrificing himself when he left Koningsoord so that he would not be endangering that monastery? The thing about Hans which was especially emphasized was his witness to his faith within the barbaric conditions of the camps.

Nothing is said about Paula in this story, as if she were not involved and did not really belong. No special words were placed in her mouth and no exemplary deeds were ascribed to her. She was not a saint, she was not a martyr—after all, she survived the war. How bitter is the denial contained here, as if going underground and enduring the tensions of the war and the immense sorrow at the loss of her family were too insufficient to really matter.

4. Moral Responsibility and Feelings of Guilt?

The depiction of affairs as described above distracts attention from the role that the abbot and the abbess played during the war. The

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monks and nuns were absolutely obedient to them; they bore the responsibility for the well-being of the monastery as well as for the members of the monastic communities.

During the war, Attorney L. Minderop had already pointed out the moral burden which the abbess had taken upon herself by obediently cooperating with the demands made by the occupying forces and not considering any form of resistance for even the slightest moment. At a certain point, she wondered if she had really been right to hand over the sisters on August 2, 1942. Initially, Minderop tried to make her take responsibility for the fact that the bishops' statements had provided basic principles; but on second thought, he transferred a great deal of that responsibility back to the ecclesiastical and political authorities (read: the mayor and the bishop) who had not warned the abbess and had not given her any clear instructions. In the end, it seems that Minderop really did show understanding for the abbess' ignorance.

It seemed that the abbot did not want to assume the responsibility he bore for those under his authority. Instead, he consulted the bishop while the monks were being arrested, who apparently drew his attention to a greater good (for example, the entire community and the monastery): in order not to endanger that greater good ("in order to avoid anything worse"), the abbot would have to cooperate and let the monks go with the police.[78] Such a possible threat is credible. In spite of all the effort which the abbot later exerted to try to find out where the monks and nuns were, nothing gives any indication that he felt that he himself was partly responsible for this drama, or that he felt any remorse about how he had acted. He had

78. N. van der Zee, *Om erger te voorkomen. De voorbereiding en uitvoering van de vernietiging van het Nederlandse jodendom tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog* [In order to avoid anything worse: Preparation and Implementation of the Elimination of Dutch Jewry during World War II]. Van der Zee illustrates how the attitude "in order to avoid anything worse" was widespread and in fact contributed to the implementation of the Jewish persecution.

taken no risks at all during the entire course of the war; his only goal had been to guide the monastery and the community through the war intact, with as little damage as possible.

One can imagine why the abbot and the abbess acted as they did: there were "mitigating circumstances." The arrests on August 2, 1942, were unsuspected and accompanied by a certain intimidation. The lack of directive advice from the bishop and the mayor has already been pointed out. The otherworldliness of the monastic culture naturally played a role as well: both of the superiors were probably insufficiently aware of what was going on, and the culture of total obedience certainly made it problematic for them. The Germans' unreliability and foul play put them and many others on the wrong track. The conviction that monks and nuns in their holy seclusion would be sacrosanct undoubtedly also played a role. And at that point in time, there was still very little knowledge about what "deportation to the East" actually involved: the phenomenon of extermination camps was unknown in August 1942. Perhaps the abbot and abbess thought it was only a matter of a temporary imprisonment. Furthermore, in the monasteries, there was generally more concern paid to the salvation of one's soul than to the vicissitudes of one's physical condition: one was not supposed to have any anxiety for death, for death was simply the transition to heavenly bliss.

On the other hand, though, they had received the bishops' letters and they had been illegally listening to the radio. In fact, in February 1941, Br. Linus had even been punished for listening to a radio he himself had made. News from outside penetrated the enclosure via the lay workers as well, but this was more true of the Trappists than the Trappistines, who observed a stricter silence.

As far as the abbess goes, we could point to her (juridical and material) dependence on the abbot and the bishop. She fell under the jurisdiction of the local bishop and was entitled to expect clear instructions from him. During the war years, Abbot Simon was no longer in any way the physically powerful and mentally domineering person he had been twenty years earlier. The stroke he had had

in 1938, and the diabetes, which increasingly bothered him, were taking their toll. In the abbey's chronicles he appears to be anxious and indecisive. Although he did not fall under the bishop's authority, he did pass part of his responsibility off onto the bishop by following his advice and allowing the monks to go with the police. During the course of the war, the abbess adopted a more independent attitude as Dom Simon's extensive influence tapered off.

Godfried Bomans, in his article from 1965, was not the only one to point out the lack of daring on the part of the abbot and abbess; family members also questioned whether the Löb children could not have been hidden, or allowed to go underground, or protected in some other way. Was this not later done for Sr. Veronica and others, even outsiders? So it really was possible, but apparently in 1942 no one dared.

Several other persons also played an important role in the stories of the events which occurred during the war. When the war was over, Attorney Minderop brought charges of collaboration against Mayor Rouppe van der Voort of Berkel-Enschot. However, the commission of inquiry that advised the Queen's Commissioner regarding the purging of municipal personnel found that, in Rouppe van der Voort's case, there were too few reasons to condemn and punish him, certainly after the resistance leader (and municipal official) G. Vermeulen had emphasized that the anxiety on the part of the monastic superiors was the reason for allowing the monks and nuns to be taken without further ado.[79] It is true that no exceptional courage can be attributed to Rouppe van der Voort in these circumstances, but that was no reason to bring charges against him.

No juridical questions were posed regarding the way in which the abbot and the abbess (and all the other superiors who found themselves in a similar position) acted, but moral questions do still

79. A. van den Oord and W. van Oosterhout, *Berkel-Enschot-Heukelom, drie zielen en één bestuurlijk hart, Berkel-Enschot 1996* [Berkel-Enschot-Heukelom, three souls and one administrative heart, Berkel-Enschot 1996]. G. Vermeulen, lecture given for the community of Koningsoord on July 13, 1997, manuscript in Ako.

remain. Apparently it never occurred to the abbot and abbess to offer themselves as hostages for the monks and nuns entrusted to their care. Neither did Bishop Mutsaerts encourage them to offer any resistance when they asked his advice. The bishop was quite cautious and chose a stance which had little to do with basic principles, completely opposite to Archbishop De Jong's stance.

Actually, the Löb brothers and sisters and Lisamaria Meirowsky were handed over and sacrificed for the preservation of the monasteries. At no time was the question raised regarding the solidarity of all the members of the community with each other, and there was never any thought of offering resistance.

Today, by reading the events from the perspective of a religious conflict, the fact of being sacrificed for the preservation of the monasteries can be understood as being sacrificed for the basic principles on which the bishops' stand was based, as being sacrificed for the Church, for the faith, for Christ, for God. And by inserting moments of personal choice, "being a victim" can be transformed into "offering oneself" and so becoming a martyr. Admiration and memories filled with piety are appropriate here. Making use of these narrative twists (which most of the authors did when recounting the story of the arrest, deportation, and death of the Löb brothers and sisters), the moral burden is removed from the shoulders of the erstwhile abbot, abbess, and communities. By making it seem as if it were the personal choice of the Löb children to follow this path to death, those who had then held the responsibility now seem to be exonerated.

Within the monasteries, there has been and continues to be a certain ambivalence concerning the way in which the events surrounding the Löb brothers and sisters have been handled since August 1942, and with their later interpretations. A photo collage of the seven members of the Löb family who died during the war (arranged differently from the one on the memorial card mentioned above) now hangs in Koningsoord and Koningshoeven. Since neither Sr. Hedwigis nor Sr. Theresia has a grave, these two sisters are commemorated with a sober mosaic plaque in Koningsoord's cloister.

However, a drawing of the medallion[80] was placed on the liturgy booklet printed for the celebration of Paula van Broekhoven-Löb's funeral Mass (February 10, 2004, and quite appropriately held in Koningsoord's church), once again raising the issues of holiness and offering oneself in sacrifice. In 2005, when the memorial cross that had been placed in Koningshoeven's monastic cemetery in 1962 was replaced with a monument commemorating a larger group of monks who had been killed, the interpretation of "martyr" was converted into that of "victim." However, the booklet *Het gegeven leven van de broeders en zusters Löb* [The Given Life of the Löb Brothers and Sisters] in the Dutch translation of the series "Cistercian Witnesses of Our Time," published in December 2006, once again confirms the ambivalence, precisely by drawing attention to the aspect of martyrdom.

On the other hand, though, the present-day communities, through their superiors, have initiated this present research project, asking that it be based on as thorough and extensive a study of the sources as possible, and requesting a critical evaluation of the images which have been formed. Every inclination to hagiography was to be suppressed. Against this background, it has also been possible to look at the moral failures of the then Abbot Simon Dubuisson and Abbess Gertrudis Demarrez and to acknowledge the tradition of denial and distortion which has grown up around both of them. That could also lead to a more reserved stance regarding the idealized image of the Löb monks and nuns, perhaps with their lives not being portrayed as exhibiting such an exemplary faith. Their deaths may not be used as Catholic propaganda, much less in any connection (possibly even camouflaged) with the pursuit of Jewish converts.

80. Cf. Kl. Beuker, "Martelaren voor het geloof: de zeven Makkabeeën Löb" [Martyrs for the faith: The Seven Löb Maccabees], in *De brandende lamp* [The Burning Lamp], no. 50 (1992). The medallion, with the Lamb of God depicted in the center, expresses their readiness to offer themselves in sacrifice. For that matter, Paula herself is not portrayed in this drawn medallion.

Epilogue

FAMILY BONDS BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE WAR

In the preceding chapter, we drew attention to the narrowed perspective and selective observations within the hagiographically tinged tradition surrounding the deportation and death of the Löb brothers and sisters. As a consequence, some facts were distorted and a number of persons and events were omitted. In this book, we have chosen not to focus exclusively on World War II and the monks and nuns in the family, but rather to extend our perspective to include the Jewish ancestry of the Löb family as well: the Loeb family and the Van Gelder family. The purpose of this broader perspective has been to show how strongly the familial context influenced the course of life of each member of the family.

We have seen that Lutz and Jenny's conversion to Catholicism separated them from the religious Judaism of their families. After moving to Bergen op Zoom, their altered social status began to play a role in this process of separation as well. Jenny explicitly turned away from the fashionable middle-class milieu in which the Loeb family lived, even though it should be noted that she herself had been moving in those same social circles with no difficulty just a few years earlier. At times they were in touch with members of their extended families but, in general, Lutz and Jenny chose a certain isolation. Nonetheless, both of them did affirm their Jewish ancestry, Jenny a

bit more than Lutz. They would have nothing at all to do with anti-Semitism and the prejudices which accompanied such an attitude.

Lutz and Jenny saw a connection between their Jewish ancestry and Roman Catholicism, with Lutz even developing his own theories about religious Judaism. They regarded themselves as being both Jewish and Catholic simultaneously, fully experiencing the tensions that implied. Their children, however, thought of themselves as being Roman Catholic. They knew they were of Jewish descent and that they had Jewish relatives, but their Jewishness played hardly any role at all in their lives. In the monastery, while they were still alive, this fact was completely relegated to the background. They were only confronted with their Jewish ancestry when they were picked up and deported, precisely for that reason. By emphasizing their Jewish roots now, there is a danger of overestimating or misappropriating them. It would be wrong to place their Jewish ancestry in the foreground, only in order to attract attention. The Löb family was not a "Jewish" family, and it was even less an average "Catholic" family. The children were not converts, and the story of their lives is not material for conversion propaganda.

During the war, many members of the Loeb and Van Gelder families were victims of persecution. The Löb children shared in this victimhood, and the split caused by their baptism no longer seemed to matter. Their common fate and their common enemy bound them closer to each other. For that matter, even before the war, some of Lutz and Jenny's children had been in contact with other members of their extended family: Hans Löb had met some of his aunts, uncles, and cousins in The Hague, and his uncle Paul had offered him some help; Linus had been given radio equipment by his uncle Ernst. Their contacts during the 1920s and 1930s were not very close, though, and whenever there was contact, not everyone was involved. During the war, Sr. Veronica met her aunt and uncle Paradies in Camp Westerbork and renewed that relationship—perhaps someone had called her attention to the fact that her relatives were also in the camp. It is significant that she later stayed with her

cousin and his wife when she had to go to Amsterdam. Apparently, for her generation, the religious differences were not as great a barrier as they had been for Lutz and Jenny.

After the war, the survivors looked each other up and tried to get some information about those who had not returned. The Loeb side of the family asked the abbot of Koningshoeven for information about the Löb children, emphasizing their Jewish kinship, even though they knew that this had never meant very much to the children during their lives. Paula van Broekhoven-Löb had more contact with her aunts, uncles, and cousins who survived the war and, partly because of this, she became more interested in her own Jewish roots. During the 1980s a family reunion was organized, and afterwards, Paula's cousin Rolf Spiegel compiled various stories and information for the family archives.[1] However, this renewed contact was principally with the Loeb side of the family. Only a few of the Van Gelders had survived the war, and the contacts on that side of the family had never been very strong. Deetje remained completely out of the picture, leading her own life and contacting Paula only sporadically.

Mourning those who had died,
tearing their garments as an expression of grief,[2]
other tears came to light,
tears in the fabric of the story which was clothing the monks and nuns.
However, this enabled their solidarity with Judaism and their extended family,
which had been preserved beneath these tears,
to receive new expression.

Can a seamless garment be truly torn?

1. R. Spiegel, *Familie Loeb*. Family archives, M. Spiegel-Kraemer, The Hague.
2. See above, xxx–xxxi, "Torn Garments."

PRIMARY SOURCES AND LITERATURE

Introduction

The documents provided by Mrs. Paula van Broekhoven-Löb along with several archival files from the abbeys of Koningshoeven and Koningsoord were the most important sources of information concerning the Löb family.

1. At the time of our research, the "Fonds Löb" was located in the archives of Koningshoeven Abbey. This consisted of two boxes containing documents related to the members of the Löb family who had entered religious life, filed under "F Löb."
2. A great deal of family correspondence can be found in the archives of Koningsoord Abbey in Arnhem, along with other things related to the family which by a roundabout way have ended up there. Originally these documents were in chronological order; but now, after several different reclassifications, the undated correspondence is filed separately from the other documents. The entire collection of documents is in numbered file folders.
3. After the death of Mrs. Paula van Broekhoven-Löb in 2004, her family documents were added to the archival material which was already the private property of her son, Loek van Broekhoven, in Zaltbommel.

Certain documents and collections have been passed back and forth between the archives of the monasteries and several family

storage places, which has resulted in their sometimes turning up in unexpected places. As far as possible, we will try to reconstruct this route.

After his death in 1935, Lutz Löb's personal documents were preserved by his wife, Jenny. Some things were probably lost when she moved. When she died in 1938, these documents came into the possession of her daughter Paula and her husband, Harrie van Broekhoven. They consisted of:

1. Diplomas
2. Correspondence concerning commissions and appointments
3. Correspondence to and from the Dutch East Indies
4. Correspondence with the Colonial Ministry
5. Correspondence from Spitsbergen
6. Documents from the period in Bergen op Zoom, including correspondence concerning the children and the monasteries
7. Family correspondence

The letters to George from his mother, Jenny, were found in the archives of Koningshoeven Abbey. It is significant that so many of these letters have been preserved. They were probably such an emotionally important bond with "home" for George that, after his brothers had read them, he saved them, neatly packed away. Around 1953, Abbot Willibrord van Dijk gave these letters to Harrie and Paula van Broekhoven, along with several books. Sometime after 1953, Harrie van Broekhoven added the letters from Jenny to George to the correspondence included in Lutz Löb's documents.

Loek van Broekhoven has preserved a number of documents from this collection separately. These have to do with his grandfather, Lutz Löb, especially letters concerning his commissions and appointments, bills, solicitations, correspondence regarding the Dutch East Indies and Spitsbergen, and the bill for buying the piano.

After the death of her husband, Harrie, in 1987, Paula van Broekhoven gave most of her documents to the archives of Koningsoord Abbey. That is how the family documents and Jenny's extensive correspon-

dence with her children ended up there. Documents concerning the daughters of the Löb family were already preserved in the archives of Koningsoord Abbey. These collections were reordered and partly reclassified. Paula kept a little bit of the documentation for herself, namely, a collection of photos in several ring binders. As already mentioned, after Paula died, her documents were added to the family documentation which her son, Loek, had in his possession.

1. Archival Sources

*1.1. Archives of Koningsoord Abbey, Arnhem (Abbreviated as **Ako** in the Footnotes)*

File folder 426, Löb, correspondence undated

File folder 427, Löb, correspondence 1909–1928

File folder 428, Löb, correspondence 1929–1932

File folder 429, Löb, correspondence 1933–1935

File folder 430, Löb, correspondence 1936–1947

File folders 432–486

Annalen van onze abdij O.L. Vrouw van Koningsoord 1928–1950.

Delfgaauw, Laurentia, OCSO, *Stichtingsgeschiedenis van de abdij O. L. Vrouw van Koningsoord*, Berkel-Enschot, 1962 (manuscript).

*1.2. Archives of Koningshoeven Abbey, Tilburg (Abbreviated as **Akh** in the Footnotes)*

F Löb 1–17 and 25

File Folder Dom Simon Dubuisson

Seraphinus Lenssen, *Huiskroniek (Histoire Intime) van de Abdij Onze Lieve Vrouw van Koningshoeven te Tilburg. Eerste klooster van Benedictijns contemplatief leven na de Reformatie in Nederland gesticht, 1881–1956*, Berkel-Enschot, 1959 (manuscript).

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Stephanus van Langen, *Mededelingen op het kapittel en ander nieuws, 5 augustus 1942–23 januari 1946* (manuscript).

Athanasius Erhart, *Oorlogskroniek 1940–1945* (manuscript).

Hieronymus Toschke, *Huiskroniek, 3 augustus 1941–8 december 1942* (manuscript).

Terstegge OCSO, Anselmus, *Ter herinnering aan onze Joodse medebroeders en hun familie*, Berkel-Enschot, 1962.

Terstegge OCSO, Anselmus, *Abdij-Kroniek "O.L. Vrouw van Koningshoeven,"* Berkel-Enschot, 1971.

1.3. Documents of Loek van Broekhoven, Private Property, Zaltbommel

Correspondence: State Mines and Lutz Löb

Correspondence: Mining and Colonial Ministry

Correspondence: Technical High School Heerlen

Correspondence: Mayor and aldermen, Bergen op Zoom

Correspondence: purchase piano (1925)

Correspondence: Spitsbergen (1921)

Documents of Paula van Broekhoven-Löb: 3-ring binders with personal mementos, letters, newspaper clippings, and photos

1.4. More Extensive Manuscripts

Ernst Loeb, *Zelfportret*, manuscript completed around 1955, preserved in the family documents of Mrs. L. Suurenbroek-Loeb, Linschoten.

Ernst Loeb, *Stamboek van Norbert Leo Loeb*, The Hague, 1941 (manuscript with later additions by various persons), preserved in the family documents of Mrs. L. Suurenbroek-Loeb, Linschoten.

Rolf Spiegel, *Familie Loeb*, manuscript completed around 1986, preserved in the family documents of Mrs. M. Spiegel-Kraemer, The Hague.

Frans Wiessing, *Kroniek van de familie Wiessing-van den Eeckhout*, Zevenaar, 1984, manuscript preserved in the documents of Mrs. C. Klompé-Wiessing, Arnhem.

Max Cahen, *Memoires 1939–1945* (manuscript), Vught, 1975, 's-Hertogenbosch Municipal Archives.

1.5. Other Archival Files

Amersfoort, Municipal Archives, census records
Genealogical records of the Van Gelder family

Amsterdam, Municipal Archives, Civic Affairs
Genealogical records of the Van Gelder family
Information concerning Jenny van Gelder's musical studies

Antwerp, Municipal Archives, Civic Affairs
Records of the Van Gelder family

Archdiocese Utrecht, Archives
Information concerning the procedure for baptizing Lutz and Jenny Löb and instructions for living as a crypto-Catholic

Bad Münstereifel, Municipal Archives (Germany)
Birth and death records, 1850–1900
Genealogical records of the Leib/Loeb family

Bad Münstereifel, School Archives of Gymnasium St. Michael (Germany)
Alphabetical listing of registered students, 1847–1866
Festschrift zur Dreihundertjahrfeier des staatlichen Gymnasiums zu Münstereifel

Bad Nauheim (Germany), Municipal Archives
Bad Nauheim, Adressbuch 1899, 1906, 1909, 1921, 1928, 1935

Bergen op Zoom, Municipal Archives
Fons Gieles Archives

Educational Archives for Bergen op Zoom
Newspaper: *De Avondster*

Brohltal, Niederzissen, Municipal Archives (Germany)
Genealogical records of the Leib/Loeb family

Capuchins, Archives of the Dutch Province of Capuchins, 's-Hertogenbosch
A. Kerkers OFMCap, *Kroniek van de missie der paters Kapucijnen op het eiland Sumatra, 1912–1920* (manuscript)
Folder: Sumatra–Padang
Personal dossiers of Robert Löb, Br. Benjamin

Delft University of Technology
Records concerning E. Beekman, engineer
Lists of students

Diocese of Breda, Archives
Personal mementos of various priests who worked in Bergen op Zoom

Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, Archives
Box 300 Trappistines
Box 483 Trappists
War Archives Box 3 Catholic Jews
When Mr. L. Minderop moved to The Hague, he probably donated his personal archives concerning his efforts for Catholic Jews during World War II to the Archives of the Diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch.

Diocese of Rotterdam, Archives
Baptismal register for the parish of O. L. Vrouw Onbevlekt Ontvangen in Rotterdam

Diocese of Padang (Sumatra, Indonesia)
Birth and baptismal registers

Dominicans, Provincial Archives, Berg en Dal
Information concerning Fr. B. Latour and Fr. J. Frehe

Dominicans, Voorschoten
Journal entries by Sr. Judith Mendes da Costa (handwritten, later partly typed), privately published by the Dominican Sisters of Voorschoten in 2006

Düren, City and District Archives (Germany)
Records of the Loeb business
www.geschichtswerkstatt-dueren.de

Eindhoven, District Archives
Archives of Mayor K. L. H. van der Putt

Euskirchen, City Archives (Germany)
Records of the Loeb business
Euskirchener Zeitung

Franciscans of Bergen op Zoom
Information concerning the chaplain, A. J. Buijsrogge
Information concerning Sr. Petronella van Sprang

Franciscans of Etten, Etten-Leur
Information concerning Wies and Door Löb

Gooi en Vechtstreek, District Archives, Hilversum
Genealogical records of the Van Gelder family

The Hague, Municipal Archives
Genealogical records of the Van Gelder family
Genealogical records of the Loeb family
Information concerning the Loeb business
Information concerning L. Feber, engineer

Jesuits, The Hague
Records of the blessing of the marriage of Ludwig and Jenny Löb

Jesuits, Provincial Archives, Nijmegen
Personal mementos of various Jesuit priests, including Herman Ermann

Sumatra Mission
Mededelingen voor de Nederlandse Provincie (an internal periodical)

Kadoc, Louvain (Belgium)
Periodical *De Bode van het Heilig Hart*

KDC, Nijmegen
Association for Large Families
Association of Catechists of the Eucharistic Crusade 1916–1968
F. B. J. Frencken (1886–1946), founder of the Association of Catechists of the Eucharistic Crusade, 1916–1945

Leyden, Municipal Archives
Genealogical records of the Loeb family

Loon op Zand, Municipal Archives
Mayor R. van der Heijden, war period

Marist Fathers, Hulst Archives
St. Joseph's Apostolic School in Hulst

Mollerlyceum, Bergen op Zoom
Archives, minutes of teachers' meetings, signed portrait L. Löb

Naarden, City Archives, census records
Genealogical records of the Van Gelder family

National Archives, The Hague
Ministery of Justice, Limited Liability Companies

Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (NIOD, formerly RIOD), [Netherlands Institute for War Documentation]
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Barneveld group
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Ons Middelbaar Onderwijs, Tilburg ["Our Secondary Educational System," an Educational Federation in North Brabant]
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Ouder-Amstel, Municipal Archives
Genealogical records of the Van Gelder family

Sacred Heart Priests, Archives, Bergen op Zoom
Archives of the Apostolic School

Sacred Heart Sisters, Rosmalen
Gerardus Rooming House in Berkel-Enschot

Sanctus Virgilius Catholic Students' Association, Delft
Information concerning Lutz Löb's student years
Information concerning Fr. Ermann

Sisters of Charity, Tilburg, Archives
Information concerning teaching activities in Padang
Information concerning Sr. Veronica's stay in Saint Elisabeth's Hospital in Tilburg

Sisters of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, Provincial Archives, 's-Hertogenbosch
Teachers' School in Hoogerheide

Utrecht, Archives
Information concerning the Loeb family
Information concerning Frits Loeb, the city architect
Information concerning the Van Gelder family

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Information concerning the transport lists to Auschwitz

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3. An Overview of the Persons Consulted

Extensive conversations with a number of persons were held during one or more visits; with others, there was written correspondence. In several cases, the contact was only by telephone.

Paula van Broekhoven-Löb had many conversations with P. Steffen alone, as well as with both authors together. Sometimes the subject matter was determined in advance, and sometimes questions concerning specific persons or documents held a central place, but the nature of these conversations quickly shifted from business-like and informative to friendly and confidential.

Mrs. R. Appeljan-Bromberg, Apeldoorn
Information concerning the Bromberg family and the stay in Camp Westerbork
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Information concerning her father, Dr. Egbert Beekman, engineer
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Information concerning her aunt, Ms. Sophie van Berckel

Mr. J. Belinfante, Venlo
Translations of the Hebrew texts in the Loeb Family Album

The Van Besouw family, Goirle.
Information concerning Mrs. E. Verschuuren-van Besouw

Dom Cyprianus van den Bogaard, Koningshoeven
Memories of the Löb brothers in Koningshoeven
Conversation in Vught, April 3, 2000, with a written response as follow-up

Dr. R. Bromberg, Roosendaal
Reference to Mrs. R. Appeljan-Bromberg

The W. Dekkers family, Swalmen
Information concerning Mr. Dekkers, policeman in Drunen

Sr. Laurentia Delfgaauw, OCSO Nuland
Memories of the Löb sisters in Koningsoord
Conversation in Vught, April 3, 2000

Br. Andreas Delleman, Roermond
Information concerning his father and brother, village policemen in Berkel-Enschot

Fr. Wiro van Diemen, OFMCap, Medan
Archives of the Diocese of Padang, Sumatra
Correspondence concerning birth registers

Sr. Cecilia Drabbe, OCSO Nuland
Memories of the Löb sisters in Koningsoord
Conversation in Nuland, October 19, 1999

Franciscan Sisters of Veghel
Sr. Veronica Löb's stay in the hospital in Oisterwijk

Franciscan Sisters of Catharinenberg in Oisterwijk
Sr. Veronica Löb's stay
Information concerning Deetje Netten

Ms. Marianne Gädtke, Bad Münstereifel, Germany
Information concerning the life of the Jews who lived in Münstereifel, as well as the Jewish cemetary there
Translations of letters written in a particularly German handwriting
Several conversations, as well as correspondence

Mrs. Erna Geijtenbeek-Dederen, Zwolle
Conversations concerning Paula Löb's time underground, hiding in Nijmegen
War Memories (manuscript)

Ms. H. Gelderblom, The Hague
Interviews in The Hague, December 12, 2000, and June 6, 2001, concerning the Loeb family

Dom Jan Goetghebeur, OSB, Affligem, Belgium
Information concerning the boarding school "Pensionaat Dames de Marie" in Aalst

Mr. M. Haman, pharmacist in Terneuzen and a former student of Lutz Löb
A telephone conversation and a letter with a few memories

Mrs. C. Heerma van Vos-Loeb, Voorschoten
Interview in Voorschoten, September 8, 2000, concerning the Loeb family

Ms. Judith Herzberg, Amsterdam
A letter from her mother, Thea Herzberg-Loeb, to her grandson (via A. Kuiper)
Commemorative address at her mother's funeral (via G. Paradies)

Ms. Heyman, archivist of the city of Euskirchen, Germany
Genealogical data concerning the Loeb family
Nathan Loeb's business

Mr. G. Hofmans, Uden
Information concerning the Town Clerk, Van de Lokkant

Mr. Van den Hout, Drunen
Information concerning Drunen during the war

Israelite religious community, Amsterdam
Inquiry concerning a possible Jewish marriage between Lutz and Jenny Löb

Mr. D. M. de Jaeger, Eindhoven
Information concerning the police in World War II

The Jesuits, The Hague
Inquiry concerning the blessing of Lutz and Jenny Löb's marriage

Mr. D. Juten, Rijswijk
Information concerning his parents, Jos and Jackie Juten

Mrs. H. Keizer-Loeb, The Hague
Conversation in The Hague, June 6, 2001

Mrs. C. Klompé-Wiessing, Arnhem
Information concerning her father, George Wiessing
Correspondence between George Wiessing and Egbert Beekman
Conversations in Arnhem, January 14, 1999, and February 23, 1999
F. Wiessing, *Kroniek van de familie Wiessing-van den Eeckhout* (manuscript)

Galerie Lammel (Bookstore, Art Gallery), Bad Münstereifel, Germany (moved in 2006 to Nettersheim-Zingsheim)
Several visits and conversations, providing literature about the city and the persecution of the Jews, introducing us to Bad Münstereifel and putting us in contact with Ms. M. Gädtke

Mr. G. F. Loeb, The Hague
Genealogical information concerning the Loeb family
Loeb Family Album
Conversation in The Hague, July 14, 1999

Mrs. R. Loeb-Philipse, Abcoude
Conversation in Abcoude, June 23, 1999

Dom Gerard Mathijsen, OSB, Egmond-Binnen
Information concerning Fr. Andreas Beekman, brother of Dr. Egbert Beekman, engineer

Mrs. Fr. Mens-van der Putt, Eindhoven
Information concerning her father, K. van der Putt, and permission to examine his archives.
Conversation in Eindhoven, June 20, 2001

Ms. Maria (Deetje) Netten, Leidschendam (1925–2006)
Information concerning the course of her life
Interview concerning the Löb family, September 9, 1998
Her estate, including photographs and documents, in the possession of Mr. Boot in The Hague

Ms. M. van Olst, Baarn/Bussem
Information concerning the Van Gelder family
Conversation September 3, 1998

Mr. W. Pallada, Utrecht
Information concerning Ernst and Hans Löb at the Catholic secondary school in Echt

Mr. Gerard Paradies, Amsterdam
Information concerning his family
Sr. Veronica Löb's stay in 1943
War journal kept by his mother, Truus Paradies-Klene
Correspondence between his mother and Wies Löb
Address by Judith Herzberg in memory of her mother, Thea Herzberg-Loeb, August 1, 1991
Photographs
Conversation in Amsterdam, December 15, 2000

Mrs. F. ten Pas-Delleman, Amsterdam
Conversation in Amsterdam, January 18, 2001

Mrs. M. Peeters-Weem, Udenhout
Information concerning the town clerk, A. van de Lokkant

Mr. H. Peters, Vlijmen
Information concerning the village policeman Dekkers and his family

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497 (top right): M. Peeters-Weem.

497 (bottom right), 498 (top left): The Van Broekhoven family.

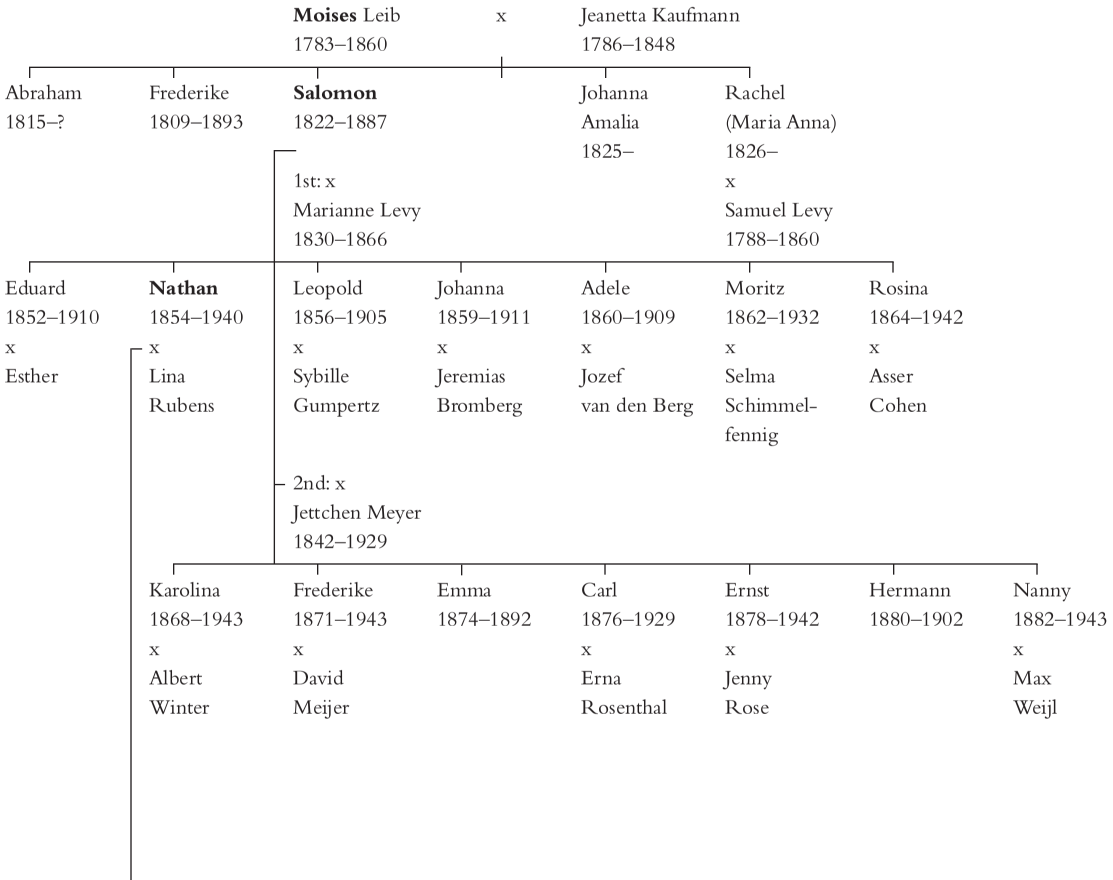
498 (top right): The Delleman family.

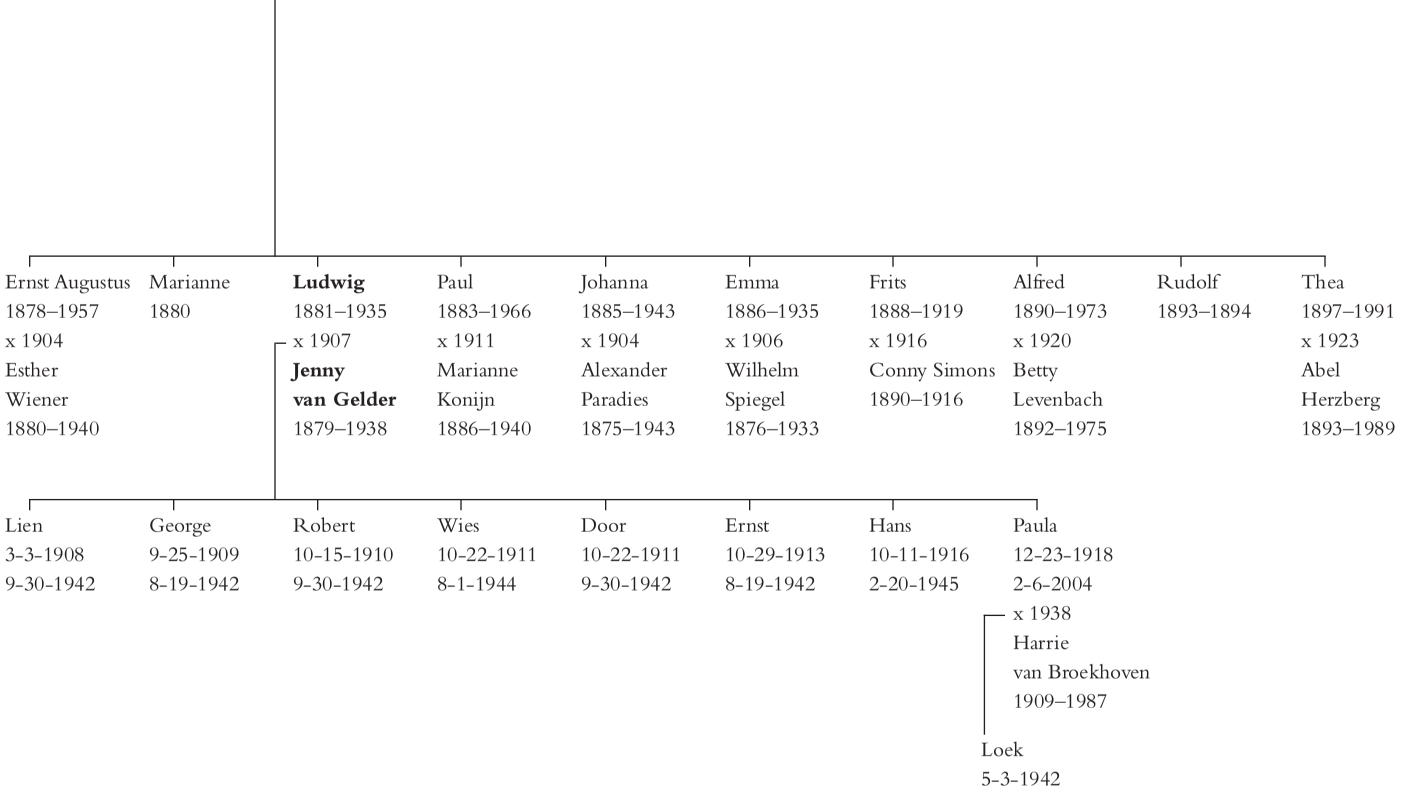
498 (bottom left): The Verschuuren family.

498 (bottom right): F. van Mens-van der Putt.

499, 500: E. Geijtenbeek-Dederen.

An Abbreviated Leib/Loeb/Löb Family Tree




Ernst Augustus
1878–1957
x 1904
Esther
Wiener
1880–1940
Marianne
1880
Ludwig
1881–1935
x 1907
Jenny
van Gelder
1879–1938
Paul
1883–1966
x 1911
Marianne
Konijn
1886–1940
Johanna
1885–1943
x 1904
Alexander
Paradies
1875–1943
Emma
1886–1935
x 1906
Wilhelm
Spiegel
1876–1933
Frits
1888–1919
x 1916
Conny Simons
1890–1916
Alfred
1890–1973
x 1920
Betty
Levenbach
1892–1975
Rudolf
1893–1894
Thea
1897–1991
x 1923
Abel
Herzberg
1893–1989
Lien
3-3-1908
9-30-1942
George
9-25-1909
8-19-1942
Robert
10-15-1910
9-30-1942
Wies
10-22-1911
8-1-1944
Door
10-22-1911
9-30-1942
Ernst
10-29-1913
8-19-1942
Hans
10-11-1916
2-20-1945
Paula
12-23-1918
2-6-2004
x 1938
Harrie
van Broekhoven
1909–1987
Loek
5-3-1942

An Abbreviated Van Gelder Family Tree